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a) p. 180, line 2 from the bottom of the text: the footnote number should be "sunshade¹⁰".

Suggestions for clearer renderings:

1) BD.1, p. 210, bottom paragraph: I suggest changing the word "emission" to "to be released", "to be let go", "freedom" — as at BD.3, p. 48, line 2 from the bottom of the text;

2) BD.2, p. 345: the word *udakadantapona* is better translated as "water and teeth-cleaner";

3) Miss Horner has consistently misinterpreted the number of bhikkhus comprising a *gaṇa* and a *saṅgha*. A *gaṇa* consists of 2 or 3 bhikkhus, and a *saṅgha* comprises 4 bhikkhus or more: ref. BD.2, p. xii, lines 3 and 6; p. 7, notes 5 & 6; p. 8, note 6; p. 162, note 2; BD.3, p. 13, note 3;

4) In Theravāda countries *aruṇa* is taken to be "dawn" rather than "sunrise": ref. BD.2, p. 7, line 8; p. 15, line 4 from bottom; p. 23 line 4 from bottom of text and note 1; p. 28, line 15; p. 115, line 15; p. 132, line 12; p. 158, line 10 from the bottom of the text; p. 336, last line of the text.

Kandersteg

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THERAVĀDIN LITERATURE IN TIBETAN TRANSLATION*

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THERAVĀDIN LITERATURE IN TIBETAN TRANSLATION

Introduction

The Tibetan collection of Buddhist literature in translation is divided into two main parts: the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*. The *Kanjur* (*bKa'* 'gyur, "Word [of the Buddha] in translation") contains texts traditionally held to have been spoken by the Buddha; the *Tanjur* (*bsTan* 'gyur, "Treatises [*bstan bcos* = *śāstra*] in translation") comprises treatises and commentaries by Indian and other masters. While the bulk of the contents of the two collections belongs to the Mahāyāna or to the Vajrayāna, both of them also contain a fair number of works of the Śrāvakayāna. These include the voluminous *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school, along with numerous and often voluminous commentaries; a miscellaneous collection of sūtras and *avadānas*, mostly again of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school; and a number of *Abhidharma* treatises, mainly presenting the tenets of the Vaibhāṣikas, an *Abhidharma* movement within the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin tradition.

In addition, both the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur* contain translations of Theravādin literature, the former in the form of independent texts, the latter in the form of a duplication of one of the *Kanjur* texts and of citations or references within longer works. Beyond this, two texts have been translated from Pāli to Tibetan in this century.

1. Theravādin texts in the *Kanjur* 1.1–13 Thirteen *paritta* and other texts The position of the 13 texts in the *Kanjur*¹

Thirteen texts, translated by the Sinhalese Ānandaśrī and the Tibetan Thar pa lotsava Ņi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po (for whom see below), are the only *group* of Theravādin texts in the *Kanjur*. For this study, I have utilized the catalogues of twelve editions of the *Kanjur*, plus several *gSan yigs* ("Records of Teachings Received"). The editions fall into two groups, according to the arrangement of the two main lineages of the *Kanjur*, the Tshal pa and the Them spangs ma.

Bu ston Rin chen grub, in his *History of Buddhism* (*Chos 'byun*), completed in 1322 or 1323 — as will be seen below only a decade or two later than the translations — describes the 13 texts as *gsar du 'gyur ba*, "newly translated". The Lithang xylograph, completed in 1614, the *gSan yig* of gTer bdag gliñ pa 'Gyur med rdo rje (1646–1714), the Derge xylograph, completed in 1773, and the Urga xylograph, completed in Ulan Bator in 1910, give them the same title.² The modern Lhasa xylograph, completed in 1934, does the same, and also calls them

¹ I apologize to the reader unfamiliar with Tibetan, for the fact that in the following pages I must plunge directly into the thick jungle of *Kanjur* studies and Tibetan history. It is necessary to do so in order to understand the transmission of the texts, and to clarify the considerable confusion that has arisen concerning them.

² Lithang Catalogue (Imaeda 1984, p. 26): *śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa śes rab sna tshogs dan mdo gsar 'gyur gyi bskor pu sti gcig; gsar 'gyur gyi mdo la; TD, p. 645 ult; Derge Catalogue (sDe dge bka' 'gyur dkar chag), folio 118b1 and Urga Catalogue (Bethlenfalvy 1980, p. 11): śes rab sna tshogs dan mdo gsar 'gyur gyi skor pu sta ka gcig la. At least one other text (Urga 361, which is not related to the texts studied here) bears the marginal marking *mdo sde gsar 'gyur, ki*: Bethlenfalvy, Introduction, p. 12. For this text see Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, "The Emperor Ch'ien-Lung and the Larger *Śūraṅgamasūtra*", in *HJAS* I, 1936, pp. 137–46.*

the "Group of Thirteen Sūtras" (*mdo tshan bcu gsum po*).¹ The catalogues of the Peking and Narthang *Kanjurs* do not give them any general title; they simply list the titles without further detail.²

The first group consists of eight editions which, in terms of their arrangement of the texts in question, are based primarily on the Tshal pa *Kanjur*, a manuscript compiled in 1347–51 A.C. One of these is a manuscript, that kept at Berlin, while the remaining seven are xylographs. The second group consists of four manuscript editions which agree in general arrangement with the Them spangs ma manuscript *Kanjur* prepared at rGyal rtse in 1431,³ supplemented by two *Records of Teachings Received* (*gSan yig*) which describe the Them spangs ma tradition. It will be seen that the two groups differ in their classification and arrangement of the 13 texts.

Table 1 gives the location of the 13 texts according to the arrangement of the Tshal pa *Kanjur*. In all eight editions, the 13 texts occur at the very end of their respective volumes. The table shows that they occur in the same sequence, as numbers 13 to 25, in all editions except the Uрга and the Lhasa (modern xylographs completed in 1910 and 1934 respectively). In the Berlin, Derge, Lhasa, Lithang, Peking, and Uрга editions the volume in question is the last volume of the Śer phyin

¹ *Catalog of the Lhasa Kanjur*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the collection of Prof. Raghuvira (Śata-piṭaka series 324), New Delhi, 1983, 438a7 (p. 875): *śer phyin sna tshogs dañ | mdo gsar 'gyur skor*; 439a5 (p. 877) *mdo tshan bcu gsum po*.

² Peking *Tripitaka*, Vol. 151, *Dkarchag I*, 13a4–5; *Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra (*Śata-Piṭaka Series Vol. 323*), New Delhi, 1983, *dkar sdus* 9a1–4; *dkar chag ka* 103a5–b1.

³ The dates of the Tshal pa and Them spangs ma manuscripts and of the *Kanjurs* referred to below are from Eimer 1989, pp. 24–25. For the history of the *Kanjur* and bibliographies of *Kanjur* studies, see Helmut Eimer, *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des Tibetischen Kanjur*, Vienna, 1992, and Paul Harrison, *Druma-kinnara-rāja-pariprcchā-sūtra*, Tokyo, 1992.

or Prajñāpāramitā division;¹ in the Cone it is the sixth of the eight volumes of Śer phyin.

In the Narthang the 13 texts come at the end of the last volume of the mDo or Sūtra division.² Lhasa follows N. In the *gSan yig* of gTer bDag gliñ pa, they are appended to volume *aḥ*, the last of the Sūtra division;³ otherwise the contents of volume *aḥ* agree with volume *aḥ* of the Lithang and Peking *Kanjurs*, in which it is also the last. (gTer bDag gliñ pa's *gSan yig* agrees with the Lithang and Peking *Kanjurs* on the order and contents of the Sūtra division; like them, it includes the *Parinirvāna-sūtra* under Sūtra volumes *ña* and *ta*, against the Narthang which treats it as a separate division, following the Sūtra. Like the Narthang, it places the 13 texts at the end of Sūtra; the Tantra [*rgyud*] division of Narthang agrees with the *gSan yig* against that of either the other Tshal pa or the Them spangs ma *Kanjurs*.)

¹ They follow the same arrangement in the Mongolian translation of the *Kanjur*: see Ligeti 1942–44, §§ 779–91: end of Vol. 47, the last volume of Śer phyin.

² The Narthang, which is traditionally described as a Tshal pa *Kanjur* (see for example *KD II*, p. 283) agrees with the arrangement of the Lithang and Peking xylographs only in part: in this case it does not. It agrees with the Them spangs ma tradition (see below) in classing the texts under Sūtra, but not in terms of volume number or arrangement. The discrepancy in classification between Peking (Q) and the Berlin Ms (B) on the one hand and Narthang (N) on the other was noted by Lalou in 1929 (pp. 87–88) and in 1949 (*JA* 1949, p. 352): (in the Mongolian *Kanjur*) "les 13 textes traduits du pāli sont groupés à la fin de la section Prajñāpāramitā, comme dans la collection tibétaine de Pékin et le manuscrit de Berlin, tandis qu'ils sont rangés à la fin de la section Mdo dans les éditions de Narthang et de Kumbum". The discrepancy between Derge, Lithang, Cone, and Peking against Narthang and Lhasa was noted by Imaeda (1982, pp. 18–19); cf. also Paul Pelliot, "Notes à propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur", *JA*, July–August 1914, p. 146.

³ TD, p. 645 ult. The text implies that the 13 texts made up a separate volume, to which it does not ascribe a number: *mdo gsar 'gyur pu sti gzan du bñugs par* ...

Table 2 gives the location of the 13 texts after the arrangement of the Them spangs ma *Kanjur*. The four manuscripts that follow this order all place the 13 texts in the same position in volume 36 (*chi*), the second last volume of the Sūtra division. Although the texts are divided into two groups, they otherwise maintain the same internal order as that of the Tshal pa *Kanjurs*: numbers 1 to 8 occur as numbers 1 to 8 of the volume, while numbers 9 to 13 occur as numbers 15 to 19 of the volume. Two *Records of Teachings Received* (*gSan yig*), one by Jayapaṇḍita Blo bzai 'phrin las (born 1642) and one by 'Jam dbyaṅs bzad pa'i rdo rje (1648–1721), which describe the Them spangs ma *Kanjur*, give the 13 texts in the same volume (*chi*) and the same order. The Them spangs ma editors do not class the texts as Mahāyāna or Śrāvakayāna: while the intervening texts (Stog §§ 297–302) belong to the latter, the two texts that follow the second group are described in their titles as Mahāyāna sūtras (Stog §§ 308–9). Since this is the general pattern in the Them spangs ma, which places texts of Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna side-by-side throughout the Sūtra division, the question of classification does not arise.

A reason for the different position of the 13 texts in Narthang may now be suggested. In the Tshal pa *Kanjurs*, apart from Narthang-Lhasa, the 13 texts are placed at the end of the Śes rab sna tshogs or "Miscellaneous Prajñāpāramitā" volume. In terms of contents and order, this volume exists in four different versions:¹ Them spangs ma (HLNST, plus the *gSan yig* of Jayapaṇḍita);² Tshal pa (BCJQ); Derge (which follows Bu ston's *History of Buddhism*); and Phug brag, which is unique. Only the Tshal pa *Kanjurs* (BCJQ, including here D) place the texts at the end of Śes rab sna tshogs; the Them spangs ma *Kanjurs* do

¹ For an earlier note on this volume, see Lalou 1929.

² The volume is missing in U: see Bethlenfalvy 1982, p. 16. The *gSan yig* of Kloṅ rdol bla ma, which describes N, agrees with N except that it omits text no. 4: *KD* II 286.

not. We know that the carving of the blocks of the Narthang *Kanjur* began at Lhasa in the time of the 6th Dalai Lama, but was interrupted after only 24 or 28 volumes were completed.¹ The *Kanjur* was finally completed by Pho lha nas, who had the remaining blocks carved at Śel dkar on the basis of a descendent of the Them spangs ma kept at Śel dkar chos sde. The Narthang Śes rab sna tshogs volume must belong to the later set; it therefore follows the Them spangs ma tradition, and does not include the 13 texts in that volume.² As in the *gSan yig* of gTer bdag gliṅ pa, the Narthang editors placed the 13 texts at the end of the Sūtra division; to complicate matters, they took them from a manuscript tradition belonging to the Them spangs ma rather than the Tshal pa lineage, since the individual colophons agree with those of the former (see below).

One other recension of the *Kanjur*, the Phug brag manuscript, differs in contents and arrangement from other known *Kanjurs*. The 13 texts are not found in this edition.³ The recently noted O rgyan gliṅ *Kanjur* shares certain texts with the Phug brag against the Tshal pa and Them spangs ma *Kanjurs*;⁴ this edition, however, includes the 13 texts in the last volume of the Prajñāpāramitā division, "Miscellaneous

¹ 24 according to *KD* II 453, but 28 according to the Narthang *dkar chag*, 54b2.

² The Narthang *dkar chag* (*loc. cit.*), however, states that the blocks carved at Lhasa started with the Prajñāpāramitā (*śer phyogs*). This is clearly not the case for the "Miscellaneous" volume, which agrees in order and contents with the Them spangs ma.

³ See Samten 1992; cf. also the same author's "Preliminary Notes on the Phug-brag bKa'-gyur: A Unique Edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon", in Ihara and Yamaguchi 1992, pp. 115–20.

⁴ See Jampa Samten, "Notes on the Bka'-gyur of O-Rgyan-Gling, the Family Temple of the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1706)", paper delivered at the Sixth International Conference of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, August 1992 (unpublished).

Prajñāpāramitā”,¹ and thus agrees in this case with the Tshal pa tradition. The texts do not seem to be included in the extant volumes of the incomplete manuscript *Kanjur* from Batang kept in the Newark Museum.²

In Bu ston’s list of canonical Tibetan translations the 13 texts are catalogue numbers 369 to 380;³ here too they come at the end of the last section of the Sūtra collection properly speaking.⁴ This is Section VII, which comprises “Miscellaneous Mahāyāna Sūtras” (*theg pa chen po’i mdo sde sna tshogs*). After listing the texts, Bu ston expresses doubt about two points: whether or not the texts were duplicates of earlier

¹ *Śes phyin sna tshogs*, 206a–340b: I am grateful to Jampa Samten for providing this information (letter of 23 October, 1992).

² This *Kanjur* awaits analysis and cataloguing. The texts are not listed in the tables of contents attached to 12 of the 15 extant Sūtra volumes, and I did not notice them in a cursory examination of the remaining three volumes. They may, of course, have been included in one of the missing Sūtra volumes, or in the “Miscellaneous Prajñāpāramitā” volume, which is also missing.

³ Bu ston gives them in an order different from that of the Tshal pa *Kanjurs*, and omits number 12, the *Candrasūtra*. That the omission is the result of a scribal error is clear from the fact that Bu ston refers elsewhere to 13 texts (see below).

⁴ Section VII; this is followed by VIII, a collection of prayers and auspicious verses (*bsno ba smon lam bkra śis*), which are placed at the end of *Kanjurs* as benedictions, and section IX, a list of texts “which were definitely translated in the early period but were not included in the *Kanjur*” at the time of Bu ston’s writing (*sñar ’gyur nes pa den sañ gi bka’ ’gyur du ma tshud ciñ ma rñed pa*). The catalogue numbers and sections are from the romanized edition of Nishioka (1980). There is a misprint on p. 76, where the texts in question are given as 367–80, for which read 369–80. This — and the fact that Bu ston lists only 12 titles — has given rise to an error in Szerb 1990, note 19 to p. 106, which lists the texts translated by Ñi ma rgyal mtshan (for whom see below) as Nishioka 368–80, thereby including Nishioka 368 = Q 787, a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* translated from Chinese. His statement “there are no translators indicated in the Peking catalogue except for [Q] 787. Here Ñi ma rgyal mtshan is not mentioned” may be disregarded.

translations, and whether they belonged to “the Greater or the Lesser Vehicle”.¹

Doubts about the first point most probably arose from the fact that early translations of (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin counterparts of some of the 13 texts do in fact exist.² Here we may turn to the colophons of the 13 texts in the Them spangs ma tradition as represented by the London, Narthang, Stog Palace, and Tokyo *Kanjurs*.³ For the *Mahāsamaya-sūtra* (1.4 in the present study), the colophon notes that “the present text agrees completely with the early translation”.⁴ The “early translation” must refer to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin recension, the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra*, translated ca. 800 by Jinamitra and others. The colophon to the *Maitrī-sūtra* (1.5 in the present study) notes that the text deals with the same subject as the early translation [entitled] *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*.⁵ The colophon to the

¹ *’Di rñams sñar gyi dañ zlos mi zlos theg pa che chuñ gañ yin dpyad par bya’o*. Sumpa mkhan po Ye śes dpal ’byor more or less reproduces Bu ston’s text, listing 12 titles in abbreviated form, and then noting *mdo rñams sna ma dag dañ zlos mi zlos dañ theg pa che chuñ dpyod*: Sarat Chandra Das, *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, [Calcutta, 1908] Kyoto, 1984, p. 415 (with some misprints). The Derge, Lhasa, and Urga *Kanjurs* also paraphrase Bu ston’s statement, as cited below in note 1 on page 82.

² Full bibliographical details are given below under the appropriate titles. In the present context “early translations” (*sña ’gyur*) refers to those done in the “early period of diffusion of the dharma” (*sña dar*), from the 8th to the first half of the 9th centuries.

³ For the first three I have consulted the actual texts (Skorupski’s transcription of the Stog colophons [Skorupski 1985] contains a few minor inaccuracies), except for in a few cases when I had access only to Skorupski’s catalogue for Stog. I am grateful to Jonathan Silk (Kyoto) for checking the Tokyo Manuscript colophons.

⁴ *Tshig ’dir yod kun sñar ’gyur dañ mtshuñs*: L XXXVI(4), 115b7; N 350, 564b2; S 292, 124a1; T 289, 114a2.

⁵ *Sñar* (LNS: *sña* T and Skorupski for S) *’gyur byams pa luñ bstan dañ don cig* (LN: *gcig* T and Skorupski for Stog; partly effaced *ga* evident in S): L XXXVI(5), 124a4; N 351, 574b6; S 293, 133b7; T 290, 122b2. The *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* is a different Maitreya text, probably of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin school, for which cf. Lévi 1932, pp. 355–402 and Schopen 1982, pp. 228–35.

Candra-sūtra (1.12 in the present study) notes that “there is also an early translation”.¹ That this refers to the anonymous translation of a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin recension of the same title is clear from the colophon to the latter, which in the Stog Palace and Tokyo editions notes that “it is evident that this is the same sūtra as that translated by Thar pa lo tsa [ba]”.² The Them spangs ma editors thus realized that the two *Candra-sūtras* were related. The colophon to the *Mahāmaṅgala-sūtra* (1.13 in the present study) also notes the existence of an early translation; the reference is presumably to the anonymous translation of a *Devapariṣcchā-maṅgalagāthā* of unknown school.³ The Them spangs

Oddly enough, the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* is not included in the Them spangs ma *Kanjurs* (London, Stog, Ulan Bator), nor in Derge, Lithang, or Cone. Nonetheless, it was known and available at rGyal rtse, since the biography of Situ Rab brtan refers to a painting based on the *Byams pa luṅ bstan pa'i mdo*: see *Rab brtan kun bzañ 'phags kyi rnam thar*, Bod ljongs mi mañs dpe skrun khañ, 1987, p. 95. The colophon describes it as an early translation by Jinamitra and dPal brtsegs rakṣita; it is listed in Bu ston's Catalogue (§ 83, under Hīnayāna, Theg chuñ), and included in the Phug brag (F 30, in Vol. ca of Avatamsaka!), Peking (B[82]5, *mdo a*; Q 1011, *mdo hu*), Narthang (N 329, *mdo sa*), and Lhasa (H 350, *mdo sa*) *Kanjurs*. It is not clear whether the '*Phags pa byams pas luṅ bstan pa* listed in the lDan dkar Catalogue as translated from Chinese (Lalou 265) is a version of the text.

¹ *Sñar* (LNT: *sña S*) 'gyur yañ yod: L XXXVI(18), 196b2; N 358, 595b7; S 306, 217a5; T 303, 195a1.

² Skorupski § 63, T 63, 232b3–4, 'di dañ thar pa lo tsas (S: *tshas T*) *bsgyur ba de mdo gcig* (S: *cig T*) *tu snañ*. The remark most probably occurs in L, which I was unable to consult. It is not found in N 316 (*mdo la*, 409b), which here follows the Tshal pa lineage. For the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin version, see below, § 1.12; for Thar pa lo tsa ba as a name of Ñi ma rgyal mtshan, translator of the 13 texts, see below.

³ *Sñar* (LNT: *sña S*) 'gyur yañ yod: L XXXVI(19), 197b3; N 359, 597a4; S 307, 218b1; T 304, 196a2. For the *Devapariṣcchā-maṅgalagāthā* (*lHas zus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*) see below § 1.13. The text does not seem to be included in the Them spangs ma *Kanjurs*. It is not S 279, since the final line cited by Skorupski (n. 2) is different (I was unable to check L). It is not among the group of *svasti-gāthās* at the end of the Sūtra division (*mdo ji*) in the London (*ji*, 379a1–385a3) or Stog Palace (§§ 328–32, *ji* 385a5–391a7) Ms *Kanjurs*, and

ma colophons also say that there is an early translation of the *Mahākāśyapa-sūtra* (1.10 in the present study);¹ I do not know to which text this might refer. The Them spangs ma editors do not note that the *Dharmacakrapravartana-* and *Ātānāṭiya-sūtras* — numbers 1.1 and 1.3 of the present study — also have early translation counterparts. The colophon to the *Dharmacakra-sūtra* — the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin early translation counterpart of 1.1 — does, however, note that “it is apparent that this is the same sūtra as that translated by Thar pa lo tsa ba”.² In the case of 1.3, the omission may be due to the fact that the Tibetan titles of the two versions are quite different: *lCañ lo can gyi pho brañ gi mdo* for the Theravādin *Ātānāṭiya*, and *mDo chen po kun tu rgyu ba dañ kun tu rgyu ba ma yin pa dañ mthun pa'i mdo* for the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Ātānāṭiya*.

(In addition to those cited here, the Them spangs ma colophons — as represented by London, Stog, and [when it is based on the Them spangs ma] Narthang — occasionally give brief notes on the nature of other texts. Another example is “this belongs to the first dispensation” [that is, the Śrāvakayāna] noted for the *Dirghanakhaparivṛājaka-pariṣcchā*, the *Nandappravrajyā-sūtra*, the *Mahāsūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra*, and the **Vāsiṣṭha-sūtra*.³ The notes are not systematic, since

Jonathan Silk has informed me that it seems to be missing in the Tokyo Ms. The *lHas zus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs bcad* listed in Bu ston (§ 400) is presumably the same text.

¹ *Sñar* (LNT: *sña S*) 'gyur yod: L XXXVI(16), 195a1; N 356, 594a4; S 304, 215b3; T 301, 193a8.

² Skorupski § 208, T 208, 5a7, *thar pa lo tsa bas* (S: *tstshas T*) *bsgyur ba dañ* (T adds |) *mdo'i* (T adds *no* [!]) *gcig tu snañ*. I was unable to consult London. The remark is not in N 322 (*mdo la*, 434a4) which here follows the Tshal pa lineage. For the *Dharmacakra-sūtra* see below, § 1.1.

³ '*Di bka' dañ por gtogs so*, or variants thereof: Skorupski §§ 54, 57, 202, 206, respectively. For the *Mahāsūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra* (S 202) — I have been unable to check the others — the remark also occurs in London (*ža* 310a2) and Tokyo (*ža* 309b7), as well as in the as yet unstudied *Nes Don* collection

no such remark is made for other “first dispensation” texts such as the remaining *Mahāsūtras*, which belong to the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition. A study of these brief remarks would contribute to our understanding of the Them spangs ma tradition. The fact that two of the texts referred to in the colophons studied here — the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* and the *Devapariṣcchā-maṅgala-gāthā* — are not included in the Them spangs ma tradition raises interesting questions.)

Bu ston’s doubts about the second point — whether the 13 texts belong to the Mahāyāna or the Hīnayāna — can be laid to rest, since we know that they belong to the Theravādin school, and hence the Hīnayāna or Śrāvakayāna. Although most Tshal pa editions place the texts in the Prajñāpāramitā divison, the collection of Mahāyāna sūtras of the “Perfection of Wisdom” class, they were not considered to be Prajñāpāramitā texts. This is noted in the catalogue (*dkar chag*) of the Derge *Kanjur*; the note is reproduced in the Urga and Lhasa catalogues. “Although the [13] newly translated *sūtras* do not belong to the Prajñāpāramitā, the translations of the later period were formerly placed together at the end of this volume [that is, the “Miscellaneous Prajñāpāramitā”]. It appears that they were [so] placed without considering whether they belong to the Great or the Lesser Vehicle, or whether or not they are duplicates of early translations. Here we have done the same”.¹ The 13 texts may have been placed there simply due to

(typescript by Gene Smith, Vol. II, text *na*). The statement is not found in Narthang — which in this case follows the Tshal pa transmission — or in any other *Kanjur* (BCDHJQ) including Phug brag and the incomplete manuscript *Kanjur* from Batang kept in the Newark Museum, New Jersey (*va*, 238a6).

¹ Derge 119a1, Bethlenfálvy 1980, pp. 13–14, Lhasa 439a2 (p. 877) (with a few minor variants): *gsar 'gyur gyi mdo rnams ni šes phyin du gtogs pa ma yin mod kyi | dus phyis 'gyur ba rnams phyogs gcig tu snar nas glegs bam 'di'i gśam du bkod 'dug ciñ | theg pa che chuñ gañ yin dan | sna 'gyur dan zlos pa yod med sogs kyañ ma brtags par bžag snañ ba bžin | 'dir yañ de ltar byas pa*. See also the remarks in Ryoei Tokuoka, “The Comparison of the Lha-sa Edition with the

exigencies of space: the volume in question contains a number of short Prajñāpāramitā texts (180 folios in the Derge edition), not enough to fill a volume. It is also possible that the editors of the Tshal pa *Kanjur* recognized their status as *paritta*, and placed them there as an auspicious conclusion to the division, just as they placed various prayers and auspicious verses at the end of other divisions.¹

Sde-dge and Peking Editions”, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, XV, 2 (March, 1967), p. 59.

¹ For this practice, see Skilling 1992, pp. 129–35.

Translators and date of translation

Information about the translators of the 13 texts is given in colophons. For this study, I will utilize the colophons of the Derge (D) edition, in comparison with those of the Berlin (B), London (L), Narthang (N), Peking (Q), and Stog Palace (S) editions.¹ The colophons in these editions may be divided into four groups, given here according to the numbers assigned to the 13 texts in the present article.

1) Colophon to 1.1 in DLNS; no colophon in BQ:

The colophon states that the translation was done “at the behest of the *Ža lu sku žaṅ* Grags pa rgyal mtshan, *Du dben śa*, who had unbreakable faith in the Buddha’s teaching,² who was accomplished in the two *gtsug lag*,³ and who had great prestige and authority, like the waxing moon”.

Grags pa rgyal mtshan was the fourth ruler (*dpon*) of the *Ža lu* myriarchy in gTsang province — one of the 13 myriarchies of the period — and a cousin-in-law of the Sa skya pa patriarch bZaṅ po dpal (1262–1322, for whom see below).⁴ *Sku žaṅ* (“respected uncle”) is a title unique

¹ For DLNQS, I have consulted the original texts: D in the “Karmapa edition”; S in the facsimile edition, compared with Skorupski’s catalogue (which gives the colophons in full); L and N at the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, London. (For the latter I have used the boxed edition [Tib. E 30]). For B I have used the Beckh’s catalogue, which gives summaries of the colophons only. For the final colophon (4) I have also consulted Cone (C): I am grateful to Susan Meinheit (Washington, D.C.) for providing a copy.

² This seems to be a stock phrase: see Kun mkhyen ’jigs med dbaṅ po, *Co ne’i bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, Kan su’u mi rigs dpe skrun khaṅ, 1989, p. 441, where it is applied to Kun dga’ don grub.

³ I have been unable to find a definition of the *gtsug lag gñis*: “two principles”?

⁴ For *Ža lu* (also spelt *Žva lu*), see Tucci 1989–91, pp. 70–72; Ferrari 1958, p. 60 and note 426 (p. 143); Vitali 1990, pp. 89–122; for Grags pa rgyal mtshan, see Tucci 1949, Vol. II, Table XVI; Tucci 1989–91, p. 87, and “List of the Princes of Zha-lu”, facing p. 90; Ruegg 1966, pp. 9–10, 17, 31–32.

to the nobles of *Ža lu*, signifying that they gave daughters in marriage to the Sa skya pas, then rulers of Tibet.¹ In this case, a sister of Grags pa rgyal mtshan was married to bDag ṅid chen po bZaṅ po dpal, and one of his daughters to Sa skya lama Don yod rgyal mtshan (1310–1344).² *Du dben śa*, which transcribes the Mongol *du uen sha* from the Chinese *tu-yüan shuai*, was a title conferred by the Mongols.³

The encomium is not an exaggeration: Grags pa rgyal mtshan was indeed a man of considerable power. Vitali notes that “no other clan in Tibet was in a similar position of strength and authority...than the *Ža lu pa*”. Furthermore, Grags pa rgyal mtshan, whose power was enhanced through marriage into the powerful Tshal pa clan, was, according to Vitali, “the greatest *sku žaṅ* of them all”.⁴ He was invested with his fief by Oljadu, successor to Qubilai Khan (Öljäitü = Ch’eng tsung, reigned 1294–1307), from whom he received the title *Gu śrī* (imperial advisor).⁵ I have not found a source that gives the dates of Grags pa rgyal mtshan’s life or when he became *sku žaṅ* or received his other titles (note that the colophon does not describe him as *gu śrī*). Vitali (p. 100) suggests that he became *sku žaṅ* in 1306; if this is so, then the translations (or at least the colophon) would date to 1306 or later. Sources describe Grags pa rgyal mtshan as “a faithful donor considered to be a manifestation of the

¹ Tucci 1989–91, p. 84, note 2; Ruegg 1966, pp. 9–10 and notes thereto; Vitali 1990, pp. 98–99.

² Tucci 1989–91, p. 80.

³ cf. Tucci 1949 p. 33; p. 696, note 393; Ruegg 1966, p. 168, note 1; and Luciano Petech, “Yüan Official Terms in Tibetan”, in Ihara and Yamaguchi 1992, Vol. 2, p. 670: “commanding general in a circuit (*lu*), ranking 2–b. In Central Tibet there were two *tu-yüan-shuai* commanding the Mongol units stationed in the country. In the 14th century this title was freely granted to Tibetan noblemen.”

⁴ Tucci 1989–91, p. 84; Vitali 1990, pp. 99, 100. Tshal pa, in the central province of dBus, was another of the 13 myriarchies.

⁵ Vitali p. 100; Tucci 1989–91, p. 87.

Great King Vaiśravaṇa".¹ He and his son, Kun dga' don grub, were the immediate patrons of Bu ston Rinpoche, who spent much of his career as abbot at Ža lu. They sponsored renovations to the gSer khañ at Ža lu; these are described in the biography of Bu ston (Ruegg 1966, pp. 89–94, the most important passage on Grags pa rgyal mtshan in the biography).

The colophon goes on to describe the translators as "the Great Paṇḍita Ānandaśrī² — from the isle of Ceylon, a journey of 600 yojanas to the south of Vajrāsana, the Bodhimaṇḍa (i.e., Bodh Gayā), who had properly entered the religious life (i.e., taken lower ordination) from a brāhmaṇa family, who had taken full ordination and thoroughly mastered the Tripiṭaka — and the learned (bahuśruta) translator, the Śākya bhikṣu³ Ņi ma rgyal mtshan dPal bzañ po", and states that the translation was done "at the seat of translators, the Great Monastery (mahāvihāra) of the glorious (śrī) Thar pa gliñ".⁴

¹ Ruegg 1966, p. 89 and folio 14a6, *bstan pa gus pas mchod pa'i sbyin bdag rgyal po chen po rnam thos sras kyi sprul par grags pa*.

² The name is sometimes transliterated as Ānanta- or Ananta-śrī. The colophons in DLNQ clearly read Ānanda-. For variants in the editions of Bu ston's *Chos 'byuñ*, see Szerb 1990, pp. 106 notes 21, 22 and 112 notes 15, 16.

³ The epithet Śākya bhikṣu is already met with in early Indian inscriptions; according to some it means an adherent of the Mahāyāna.

⁴ D 183a4; L 7b8; S 6b6 (I was unable to check N 431b because the pages were stuck together; such as I could see seemed the same): *sañs rgyas kyi bstan pa la mi phyed pa'i dad pa dañ ldan žiñ | gtsug lag gñis la thugs legs par byañ ba | dpal 'byor dbaň phyug dam pa dkar phyogs kyi zla ba ltar 'phel ba'i ža lu ba sku žaň (L 8a) grags pa rgyal mtshan du dben sa'i bka' luñ gis byañ chub kyi sñiñ po rdo rje'i (S 7a) gdan las | lho phyogs su dpag tshad drug brgya tsam bgrod pa'i gnas | siñ gha gliñ pa bram ze'i rigs las legs par rab tu byuñ žiñ | bsñen par rdzogs pa sde snod gsum la thugs legs par byañ pa'i paṇḍita chen po ā nanda śrī'i žal sñā nas | mañ du thos pa'i lo tsha ba śākya'i dge sloñ ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ pos | skad gñis smra ba rnams kyi gdan sa | gtsug lag khañ chen po dpal thar pa gliñ du bsgyur ciñ žus te gtan la phab pa'o. A rather inaccurate attempt at a translation of the whole colophon (from N?) was made by Feer (1870, pp. 353–55).*

2) Colophons to 1.2–9 in DLNS; no colophons in BQ:

Here the colophons are an abridged form of the preceding, giving only the names of the translators and the place of translation.¹

3) Colophons to 1.10–12 in LNS only; no colophons in BDQ:
Here LNS repeat the "abridged colophon" as in 1.2–9.

4) Colophons to 1.13 in BCDLNQS:

The final colophon in BCDQ is a collective colophon for all 13 texts.² It begins with a six-line verse *prañidhāna*, followed by a list of the 13 titles. After this it is close to the first or longer colophon of DLNS, giving further details about the sponsor. Grags pa rgyal mtshan was lord of the "Holy Self-originated Lokeśvara Monastery"³ at Tshoñ 'dus 'Gur mo, the commercial centre of the Ņañ ro valley in rTsañ (gTsañ) in the

¹ *Paṇḍi ta* (LN 1.5–13 add *chen po* | || in LN 1.5,6,11); not in LN 1.2–4) *ānanda śrī'i žal sñā nas* | (LN 1.2 add here *dañ* |) *mañ du thos pa'i lo tsha ba śākya'i dge sloñ ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ pos* || *skad gñis smra ba rnams kyi (kyis LN for 1.3) gdan sa | gtsug lag khañ chen po dpal thar pa gliñ du bsgyur ciñ žus te gtan la phab pa'o.* (I have listed a few selected variants to show the close agreement of L and N, which suggests that N copied the 13 texts from the Šel dkar Ms, even though it placed them in a different volume [see above]. The figures following the variants refer to numbering of the sūtras in the present paper.)

² Beck's catalogue of B gives only a brief summary of the colophon; however, since B and Q both belong to the Peking branch of the Tshal pa tradition, I assume here that the colophons are identical. For a translation of the colophon from the Mongolian *Kanjur*, see Bischoff 1968, pp. 337–40; for further notes see de Jong 1972, pp. 536–37 (§ 791).

³ 'Phags pa rañ byuñ 'jig rten dbaň phyug gi gtsug lag khañ (*Ārya-svayambhū-lokeśvara-vihāra): for the "self-originated" Lokeśvara at Ža lu, "found by a miraculous white goat with a turquoise beard", see Vitali 1990, p. 97, Ferrari 1958, *loc. cit.*, and the description in the biography of Bu ston: *byañ phyogs kha ba can gyi ljoñs | gañs ri dpal dañ ldan pas bskor ba'i dbus | rje bisun spyān ras gzigs kyi sku gzugs rañ byon bžugs pa'i gnas ...* (Ruegg 1966, folio 14a4–5; tr. p. 90). The monastery had three other famed Lokeśvara statues housed in the same chapel (Vitali, 92, 97). For this temple see Ruegg 1966, pp. 17–18 and 34.

Land of Tibet,¹ the Mass of Snow Mountains, [which lies] 100 *yojanas* to the north-east of Vajrāsana, the Bodhimaṇḍa [Boḍh Gayā] in the Ārya-deśa at the centre of Jambudvīpa.²

LNS, of which LS, as seen above, divide the 13 texts into two groups, give here only the “abridged colophon” — identical to those of LNS for texts 1.2–12 — in place of the “collective colophon”.

It is now clear that there are only two different colophons: the Them spangs ma colophon, represented by DLNS in (1) above — of which (2) and (3) are an abbreviation — and the Tshal pa colophon, represented by BCDQ in (4). Although they convey much the same information, often in the same words, they are not identical. Without going into too much detail, the reasons for the difference in the assignation of colophons are most likely as follows. The Tshal pa *Kanjurs* kept the 13 texts together; hence B and Q, which follow the

¹ For the geography of 'Gur mo in Lower Nān (Nān — also spelt Myan — smad) see Tucci 1989–91, pp. 47 foll. Bu ston took *upasampadā* at “the market town of gTsañ called Tshoñ 'dus 'Gur mo” in 1312: Ruegg 1966, p. 77 and folio 9b, *gtsaṅ tshoñ 'dus 'gur mo*.

² C 317a3, D 284a4, Q 301b5, *de ltar mdo bcu gsum po 'di rnams ni 'dzam bu'i gliñ gi dbus | 'phags pa'i yul | byañ chub kyi sñiñ po rdo rje'i gdan las dpag tshad brgya tsam byañ śar du* (CD: Q om. *du*) *bgrod pa'i bod yul | gaṅs ri'i khrod | rtsaṅ ñaṅ ro tshoñ 'dus 'gur mo'i sa cha | 'phags pa rañ byuñ 'jig rten dbaṅ phyug gi gtsug lag khañ gi bdag po ||* (CQ: | D) *saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan pa la lhag par mos śiñ | dpal 'byor dañ chab srid du ma la dbaṅ phyug dam pa'i go 'phañ thob pa'i źal bu* (CQ: *źa lu D*) *pa sku źaṅ grags pa rgyal mtshan du dben śa'i bka' luñ giś* | (from here on the text agrees with colophon [1]). A similar description of the relation of Tibet, in this case Lhasa, to Boḍh Gayā is used by the Fifth Dalai Lama: cf. Macdonald 1963, p. 57 and p. 111, note 24, *'phags yul rdo rje gdan nas byañ phyogs su dpags tshad brgya bgod pa na gdan sa chen po dpal ldan sa skya dañ zuñ du 'brel ba lha sa* Vajrāsana is taken as the point of reference because it is traditionally held to be the centre of the universe.

Tshal arrangement, have only the final, collective colophon.¹ The Them spangs ma *Kanjurs* divide the 13 texts into two groups; therefore L and S, which follow the Them spangs ma arrangement, give colophons for each text.² For the Sūtra division, D follows the Tshal pa arrangement: while the editors of D based themselves primarily on the Lithang recension of the Tshal pa (J), they also consulted a manuscript belonging to the Them spangs ma tradition — as stated in the catalogue (*dkar chag*) of D itself, and confirmed by text-critical studies. In the present case D adopts the Them spangs ma colophons for 1.1–9; hence its agreement with L(N)S. For some reason, D reverts to the Tshal pa tradition for 1.10–12, and gives no colophons. Finally, since it follows the Tshal pa tradition in treating the 13 texts as a single group, it ends with the collective colophon of that tradition at 1.13. In the present case N follows the Them spangs ma in terms of textual transmission, and thus gives a colophon for each text. In terms of arrangement, however, it agrees with the Tshal pa in keeping the 13 texts together at the end of the (albeit different) volume.

The verse colophon to text 1.14 further describes Ānandaśrī as “virtuous, foremost among the many thousands [of monks] in the *samgha* of the land of Sinhala; the disciple of Dīpaṅkara (?),³ who

¹ It is likely that the Lithang (J) and Cone (C — which follows J) do the same. For Cone I can confirm that it has the final collective colophon, but not whether it omits the earlier colophons.

² It is likely that the Tokyo (T) and Ulan Bator Them spangs ma (U) manuscripts do the same.

³ *Mar me mdzad = dīpaṅkara* could be taken as an epithet, followed by *slob* [*dpon*] = *ācārya*, to mean “illuminator, teacher”. However, such a use of *dīpaṅkara* seems unusual. The passage is in verse: *slob* alone can equal *śaikṣa*, as can *slob pa*; it can also stand for *slob ma = antevāsin, śiṣya*. Since it is a common practice to establish one's teacher's credentials or prestige by naming his teacher(s), rather than his disciples, I have taken it in the latter sense. The name Dīpaṅkara is known in Sri Lanka: a Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara was a disciple of a Vanaratna Ānanda: G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, [1928] 1958, p. 220.

resides in Vajrāsana; the great *paṇḍita* Ānandaśrī, the virtuous; the monk endowed with the vision of the dharma (*dharmacakṣu*, “eye of the dharma”), skilled in the two languages; one who seeks the benefit of the [Buddha’s] dispensation (*sāsana*), the excellent one”.¹

The second translator, the Tibetan Ñi ma rgyal mtshan dPal bzañ po, is well known as one of the teachers of the famous scholar Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364).² In his *History of Buddhism* (*Chos ’byuñ*), Bu ston states: “My teacher (*guru*) Ñi ma rgyal mtshan dPal bzañ po studied in Nepal for fourteen years; he translated 13 sūtras — the *Giri-ānanda-sūtra*, etc.³ — with Paṇḍita Ānandaśrī. Furthermore, he made many other fundamental translations and corrections to translations.”⁴

Bu ston’s biography, composed by his “spiritual son” (*thugs sras*) Rin chen mam rgyal and completed in 1366,⁵ does not state exactly

¹ N 328, *mdo sa*, 477a2, Q 1010, *hu* 311b3, *yon tan dan ldan siñ ga gliñ yul gyi* || *ston phrag mañ po’i dge ’dun kun gyi gtso* || *mar me mdzad slob rdo rje gdan bzugs pa* || *pañ chen ā nan da śrī yon tan can* || *dge sloñ chos kyī spyān can skad gñis mkhas* || *bstan la phan ’dod bzañ po (de ñid dan* ||). The colophon is translated from the Mongolian in Bischoff 1968, pp. 537–38; for further notes see de Jong 1972, pp. 537, 543–45.

² BA II 793; cf. also p. 800. Ruegg 1966, pp. 80–86, Thar pa lo tsā ba. Gene Smith (oral communication, January, 1993) informs me that according to the *Ñañ chuñ*, Ñi ma rgyal mtshan belonged to the dPyal family, which owned Thar pa gliñ, and that the monastery was named by the Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Śākyaśrībhadra (1140s–1226). (For the dPyal family and the teachings that they transmitted, see BA I 395–97.)

³ The list of texts in Bu ston’s catalogue begins with this sūtra (Nishioka 369).

⁴ Lhasa xylograph *ya* 140b2: *bdag gi bla ma ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po bal por lo bcu bzir sbyañs pa mdzad* | *ri’i kun dga’i mdo la sogs mdo bcu gsum tsam paṇḍita ā nanta śrī spyān drañs te bsgyur ro* || *gžan yañ gži ’gyur dan ’gyur bcos mañ po mdzad do* ||. (For variants, see Szerb 1990, pp. 106,8–107,2.) Obermiller (1932, p. 224) translates “fourteen sūtras”; all editions consulted by Szerb give thirteen (*bcu gsum tsam*); cf. also Nishioka III (1983), p. 70, where Bu ston refers to *kho bo’i bla ma skad gñis smra ba ñi ma’i mtshan can* (sic).

⁵ Ruegg 1966, pp. 41, 178.

when he studied under Ñi ma rgyal mtshan. It is clear, however, that he did so sometime between 1312, when he was ordained at the age of 23, and 1320, when he arrived in Ža lu to become abbot. During this period he stayed mainly at Khro phu, but also undertook several journeys. The biography states that he visited Ñi ma rgyal mtshan for fourteen months continuously, and also for periods of two, three, or four months, over a period of four years, and that “for this *bla ma* he had special regard, holding him to be the Buddha himself”.¹ It describes him as “the great *upadhyāya* renowned as the ‘Translator from Thar pa [gliñ]’, famed in the East, West, and Centre of India as Tibet’s chief *bhadanta*, who had mastery over the profound meaning of spiritual power, a translator (*lotsava*) who was the eye of the world (*lokacakṣu*)”.²

Ñi ma rgyal mtshan is credited with the translation of several other *Kanjur* texts, all in the Tantra (*rgyud*) division. He translated the *Sarvathāgata-uṣṇiṣaviṣaya-nāma-dhāraṇīkalpa* single-handedly (*rañ gis bsgyur ba*, that is, without the assistance of an Indian pandit), also at Thar pa gliñ.³ In the colophon he is again described as the “learned translator” (*mañ du thos pa’i lo tsa ba*) and also as “the elder” (*gnas brtan = sthavira*), Śrī Ñi ma rgyal mtshan dPal bzañ po. Bu ston, in his *Tantra Catalogue*, describes him as “the great preceptor” (*mkhan chen = mahopadhyāya*).⁴ In the Stog Palace and Derge *Kanjurs*, he is credited with the revision of the *Śrī-Vajrabhairavakalpa-tantrarāja*, “having learned it from the great accomplished one (*grub thob chen po*) Karṇaśrī”.⁵ In the Phug brag *Kanjur* only, he is credited with the

¹ The date of ordination is from Ruegg 1966, p. 77, the date of Bu ston’s arrival in Ža lu from p. 93. Bu ston’s studies under Ñi ma rgyal mtshan are described at pp. 80–86.

² Ruegg 1966, p. 80 and folio 11a1.

³ S 551 (colophon in Skorupski, p. 270); D 598, Q 200.

⁴ Eimer 1989, § 225, p. 98.

⁵ D 470, S 433; Q 106 seems to be the earlier, unrevised translation. Bu ston’s *Tantra Catalogue* (Eimer 1989, § 103) does not name the translators.

translation of the *Śrī-Guhyagarbhatattviniścaya-mahātantra*, which he did at Thar pa gliñ at the behest of bCom ldan ral gri (who was active in the compilation of the Old Narthang Manuscript *Kanjur* in the early 14th century).¹

The bulk of his translations are found in various divisions of the *Tanjur*: the Collection of Eulogies (*bstod tshogs*), the Tantra Commentaries (*rgyud 'grel*), Grammar (*sgra mdo*), Medicine (*gso rig*), and Miscellaneous (*sna tshogs*). A number of these were translated during his stay in the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal;² others at Thar pa gliñ,³ at the Cuñ pa Monastery in Ñañ ro,⁴ or at the Śer Monastery.⁵ The Nepalese or Indian masters with whom he worked or studied include “the great grammarian” (*sgra pa chen po*) Jetakaṛṇa (in Nepal),⁶ *paṇḍita* Mañjuśrī,⁷ *paṇḍita* Gautamabhadra of Magadha,⁸ *paṇḍita* Puruṣottama of Vārāṇasī,⁹ *paṇḍita* Buddhaśrī of Eastern India,¹⁰ and *paṇḍitas* Gomaśrī and Buddhaśrījñāna.¹¹ In several places Ñi ma rgyal mtshan is described as “accomplished in the divine language”, that is, Sanskrit.¹²

¹ F 754; cf. Samten 1992, pp. xxi–xxii.

² *Bal po yam bu 'i groñ khyer du*: at least D 1114, 1234, 4385–86.

³ D 1259–60, 1299–1300, 1585, 2026–27, 2035, 2489, 2615, 3054–56, 3125, 3732–33.

⁴ D 1577–78.

⁵ D 2719, 4306.

⁶ See references in note 2 above, plus presumably D 1273, although the location is not mentioned, and D 1585, translated at Thar pa gliñ after “hearing” the text from Mañjuśrī and Jetakaṛṇa, and D 3732–33, also translated at Thar pa gliñ after “hearing” the text from rGyal ba 'i sñan = Jetakaṛṇa; D 4270 (location not mentioned); D 4306, where he is described as a *brāhmaṇa*.

⁷ D 1237, 1585 (where he is described as Nepalese, *bal po 'i*); cf. de Jong 1972, § 5.

⁸ D 1562–64.

⁹ D 3054–56, 3125.

¹⁰ D 4306, *rgya gar gyi śar phyogs kyi paṇḍi ta*

¹¹ Derge Catalogue *śrī* 462a4.

¹² D 2026–27, 2035: *lha 'i skad la legs par žugs pa*.

Thar pa gliñ, “Island of Liberation” (*Mokṣadvīpa) is a monastery located in gTsañ in Central Tibet, not far south of Ža lu.¹ As seen above, the colophons to the texts studied herein describe it as “the great monastery” (*gtsug lag khañ chen po* = *mahāvihāra*) and the “seat of translators” (*skad gñis smra ba rnam kyī gdan sa*). In later literature, such as the two *Records of Teachings Received* referred to above, the monastery and Ñi ma rgyal mtshan were identified with each other: he was called “the translator from Thar [pa gliñ]” (Thar lo [tṣa ba]),² and the monastery was famous as “the residence of the Thar pa lotsava”.³ In early December, 1783, Captain Samuel Turner, emissary of Warren Hastings, visited Thar pa gliñ. Chapter IX of his account describes his departure from Teshoo Loombo (Tashilhunpo) and journey to Terpaling (Thar pa gliñ) (via Tsondue [= Tshoñ 'dus] where he and his companion, Mr Saunders, “enjoyed the distinction of having been the first of our nation, that ever signaled themselves by skating in Tibet”). At “Terpaling” he had an audience with the infant “Teshoo Lama” (the 18 month old fourth reincarnation of the Panchen Lama), to whom he delivered the Governor General’s greetings and presents (“a string of pearls and coral”). He notes that the young reincarnation “conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum”. At that time there were 300 monks at the monastery, “appointed to perform religious service with the Teshoo Lama”. Chapter X describes Turner’s departure from Thar pa gliñ and return to Bengal.⁴

¹ For Thar pa gliñ, see Tucci 1989–91, p. 70 and Vitali 1990, p. 103. For its location, see Ferrari 1958, endpiece map; *The Nyingma Edition of the sDe dge bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur*, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1981, Vol. 93, map at front, “Gzhis-ka-rtse, Historic Sites”.

² The two *gSan yigs* call him Thar lo fii ma rgyal mtshan. See also *BA* I 104 and II 792.

³ Ferrari 1958, p. 60 and p. 144, notes 436, 437.

⁴ Captain Samuel Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet; Containing a Narrative of a Journey through Bootan, and Part*

Ānandaśrī translated one other text, the *Ārya-maitrī-sūtra*, § 1.14 in the present study. It will be seen below that this is a different translation of a text similar but not identical to § 1.5, the *Maitrī-sūtra*. According to the colophon of 1.14, Ānandaśrī collaborated on the translation with Kun dga' rgyal mtshan Thub bstan dpal bzañ po — “monk, lineage-bearer, successor to the great translators, who through good fortune met Ānandaśrī” — at Sa skya [the seat of the Sa skya pa school]. The work was completed in “the bright half of the first month of winter of a fire-sheep (*me lug*) year, 1850 years and 10 months after the passing away of the Teacher [the Buddha], when Dharmarāja Ha shang was on the throne”.¹ The calculation uses the Theravādin Buddhist era, and is equivalent to 1307 A.C.² The use of the Theravādin era most probably comes from Ānandaśrī himself; the era was, however, already known in Tibet, particularly among the Sa skya pas, from the time of the Kashmiri Śākyaśrībhadrā (Kha che pañ chen).³ The phrase “when Dharmarāja Ha shang was on the throne” may refer to the fact that the Sa skya patriarch bDag ñid chen po bZañ po dpal (1262–1324) had been installed on the throne of Sa skya Monastery in 1306 at the age of 45, after 16 years of exile in southern China (from 1282–98) and eight years

of Tibet, London, 1800. For the historical background, see Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, [Yale, 1967] New York, 1988, pp. 154–56.

¹ N 328, *sa*, 477a3–b4; Q 1010, *hu*, 311b5–6 (continuation of text given above in note 1 on p. 90) *de'i legs gtugs dge sloñ luñ* (N: Q — altered? — looks like *yuñ*) *rigs 'dzin || skad gñis smra ba mchog gi rjes 'jug pa || kun dga' rgyal mtshan thub bstan dpal bzañ pos || ston pa 'das nas lo stoñ brgyad brgya dañ || lña bcu lhag pa'i zla ba bcu 'das dus || chos kyi rgyal po ha śañ mña' gsol tshe || me lug dgun zla ra ba'i yar ño la || dpal ldan bla ma kun dga' señ ge yi || sku drin la brten dpal ldan sa skyar ni || sgra don ji bzin legs par bsgyur ba yin ||*

² This date is given by Haarh (1962), p. 205. The calculation of the Buddhist Era, 1850 minus 543 = 1307 would seem to agree with the Siamese calculation, unless the details of the months show otherwise; the Ceylonese calculation would be 1308.

³ For the various calculations of the Buddhist era known in Tibet, see Macdonald 1963, Vogel 1991, and Ruegg 1992, pp. 263–90.

of confinement in Tibet.¹ The title “Ha shang”, “[Chinese] monk”, suggests that he may have received Chinese ordination at some point, but this presents problems because he had children between 1299 and 1312. He received Tibetan ordination in 1313. According to Tucci, he “was only vested with temporal authority and had no religious authority or rank up to the age of 52”, that is, 1313.²

The colophon gives the name of the patron or sponsor, Kun dga' señ ge.³ As the elder brother of 'Jam dbyaṅs Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1258–1306) — in whom power was vested during bZañ po dpal's external and internal exile — Kun dga' señ ge was the paramount religious noble of the Śar pa Bla brañ, one of the main ministerial families of the Sa skya pas. In 1307 he would have been the *de facto* power at Sa skya, and this must be why he is mentioned as patron. The *Blue Annals* (II 633) states that he was at Sa skya in 1309.

The colophon closes with non-historical verses and *prañidhānas*.

¹ cf. BA I 213, Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 684, and Vitali 1990, p. 118, note 129; cf. also L. Petech, “Princely Houses of the Yüan Period Connected with Tibet”, in Tadeusz Skorupski (ed.), *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in honour and appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, Tring, 1990, p. 259.

² I am grateful to Gene Smith (Jakarta) for supplying copies of relevant source materials and for guiding me through the historical maze. In a letter dated 12 July, 1992; he notes that “only a careful study of the numerous sources for this extremely complicated period can solve the puzzle”.

³ Beckh (1914) p. 68, mistakenly describes “Lama Kun-dgaḥ-señ-ge” as the translator. Kun dga' señ ge is mentioned in the *rGya bod yig tshañ* of dPal 'byor bzañ po (Chen du, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khañ, 1985, p. 352).

Some *gsan yigs* and *Kanjur* catalogues¹ mistakenly identify Ānandaśrī's co-translator with the famous Sa skya Paṇḍita, fourth patriarch of the Sa skya pas, who lived from 1182 to 1251, and whose full name is Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dPal bzañ po. This was also done by Sylvain Lévi, who therefore interpreted the *me lug* year as 1247/8.² The identification and date are clearly wrong. Firstly, it is evident from the common elements of the colophons to 1.1, 1.13, and 1.14 that this is the same Ānandaśrī; I have shown above, on the basis of the contemporary evidence of Bu ston, that Ānandaśrī was active in the early part of the 14th century. (Note also that in the roughly chronological lists of Indian scholars and Tibetan translators given by Bu ston in his *History of Buddhism*, completed in 1322 or 23, Ānandaśrī [Szerb 1990, p. 112,5] and Ñi ma rgyal mtshan [*ibid.*, p. 119,2] are fourth last.) Secondly, the name of the co-translator, though partly identical, contains the element Thub bstan, which I have not come across in the name of Sa skya Paṇḍita.³ Thirdly, even if one wishes to consider the difference in names

¹ *Gsan yig* of the Fifth Dalai Lama (*Records of Teachings Received: the gsan-yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama Nag-dban-blo-bzan-rgya-mtsho*, Delhi, Nechung and Lakhar, 1971, p. 374), Ānandaśrī and Lo tsa ba 'Jam dbyaṅs Sa paṅ; Lhasa *Kanjur* Catalogue, p. 916, *byams pa'i mdo | ā nan ta śrī dan | 'jam dbyaṅs sa paṅ gyi 'gyur*. Note that the identification with Mañjuḥoṣa ('Jam dbyaṅs) Sa [skya] paṅ [dita] is made only in catalogues and *gsan yigs* and never in the colophons themselves. It is presumably based on a hasty reading of the colophons with their mention of Sa skya and the similarity of the names, without looking further into the dates or other historical details.

² Lévi 1932, pp. 379–80. Lévi transcribes and translates the greater part of the colophon to 1.14. It is not clear whether he was influenced by the *Kanjur* catalogues. The mistaken identification and date are perpetuated in de Jong 1972, pp. 537 and 543.

³ Sa skya Paṇḍita himself gives his name as Śākya Bhikṣu Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po: see Jackson 1987, I (text) 298, 299, II (translation) 366, 367. The dpal bzañ po = śrībhadrā of Sa skya Paṇḍita's name indicates that he was ordained by the Kashmiri master Śākya Śrībhadrā (see Ruegg 1966, p. 42 note 1, and Jackson 1987, I 27); in general (as in the case of Ñi ma rgyal mtshan

as a poetic embellishment of the verse colophon, and hold that Ānandaśrī was active in Tibet for nearly 70 years, Sa skya Paṇḍita was not at Sa skya in 1247/8: summoned by the Mongols, he had left in 1244, and by 1247 he was at the Mongol court in Liang-chou. He never returned to Sa skya, since he died at Liang-chou in 1251.¹ Fourthly, neither Sa skya Paṇḍita nor his biographers refer to Ānandaśrī. Finally, as shown above, the patron Kun dga' seṅ ge was at Sa skya in the early 14th century.

The 13 *gsar 'gyur* are some of the latest sūtra translations, and the latest *group* of sūtras, to enter the *Kanjur*. When and how did they, along with the *Maitrī-sūtra*, come to be included? Why do the former occur in two different arrangements, with variant colophons, and why is the latter missing in some *Kanjurs*? I cannot give a satisfactory answer. I can only note that one of the sūtra collections used in the compilation of the first comprehensive *Kanjur*, the Old Narthang manuscript collection, was that of Ža lu, the residence of Ñi ma rgyal mtshan's pupil Bu ston, not far from Thar pa gliñ.² Contact between Narthang and Thar pa gliñ itself is shown in the fact that the Tantra Collection of dGe bśes 'dar phyar of Thar pa gliñ was used in the compilation of the Old Narthang Tantra division,³ and that one of the compilers, bCom ldan ral gri, requested Ñi ma rgyal mtshan to translate a Tantra (see above).

Nothing else is known of Ānandaśrī. We do not know how or when he came to Tibet, or how long he stayed; all we can say is that he collaborated on the translation of fourteen texts in about the first decade of the 14th century: 13 at Thar pa gliñ with Ñi ma rgyal mtshan, and one at Sa skya with Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. It is not reported that Bu ston,

dpal bzañ po) it means ordained within the Vinaya tradition established by Śākyaśrībhadrā.

¹ Jackson 1987, I 28–29 and 31; Ruegg 1966, p. 4.

² Samten and Russell 1987, p. 31,7.

³ Samten and Russell 1987, p. 32,25.

who studied at Thar pa gliñ sometime after 1312, met the *paṇḍita*. The latter's second co-translator, Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, is not credited with any other translations in the *Kanjur* or *Tanjur*, and is otherwise unknown.

It is interesting that Bu ston's biography mentions that at Thar pa gliñ Bu ston learned "the various systems of writing of India, east and west", including that of Siñhaladvīpa (*Siñ ha gliñ*),¹ and that a Sinhalese manuscript of the *Karmavibhāgaya* was photographed by Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana at Sa skya.² These are probably part of Ānandaśrī's legacy in the Land of Snows. The colophon to 1.14 suggests that he was prominent in his homeland; since, however, Ānanda was a popular name in Ceylon (particularly from the Polonnaruva period on, and particularly among the Araññāvāsins), I will not attempt to identify the great *paṇḍita* with any of the Sri Lankans of the same name.³

The 13 texts and modern scholarship

The first reference to the 13 texts in European scholarship was made by the great pioneer of Tibetan studies, the Hungarian Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, who listed and summarized them in his "Analysis of the Mdo" (based on the Narthang xylograph), published in 1836–39.⁴ In his French translation of the preceding, Léon Feer, another pioneer of *Kanjur* and Buddhist studies, described them as "textes traduits du Pāli", and noted their Pāli counterparts.⁵ He published full translations of eight

¹ Ruegg p. 81, text folio 11a7.

² See H. Bechert, P. Kieffer-Pülz, K. Küster, and J. Matsumura, "An Ancient Sinhalese Manuscript Discovered in Tibet and Preserved in Peking", in *The Journal of Pāli and Buddhist Studies (Pārigaku-Bukkyō-Bungaku)*, Vol. 4, Nagoya, May, 1991, pp. 67–83.

³ cf. *DPPNI*, Ānanda, nos. 11–14, and *EB* I/4, p. 537, Ānanda (14).

⁴ Originally published in *Asiatisk Researches*, Vol. 20, Calcutta; reprinted in A. Csoma de Kőrös, *Analysis of the Kanjur*, Delhi, 1982, pp. 181–82.

⁵ *AMG* II (1881), 288–90.

of the texts (1.1, 6–10, 12, 13, plus a part of 1.2) in 1883, comparing them with the Pāli parallels, when available, and also noting other parallels within the *Kanjur*.¹ In 1929 Lalou gave a tabular list of the 13 texts as found in the Narthang and Peking *Kanjurs*, with cross-references to the Berlin manuscript, Pāli parallels, the *paritta*, and Feer's translations in *AMG*.² The texts are discussed briefly in *L'Inde classique*,³ and referred to and listed in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*⁴ and in *Crystal Mirror* VII.⁵ Their Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian titles, as given in the Mongolian *Kanjur*, are listed by Bischoff, who also translates the

¹ *AMG* V; Feer also described 1.11, which is virtually identical to 1.12. References are given under the appropriate section. I am unable to do justice to the entirety of Feer's work, spread through many issues of *Journal asiatique*, not available to me. See for example Feer 1870, and Imaeda 1982 p. 18 (184) note 17 for a reference to *JA* 1871. Imaeda also refers to a study in Japanese by Enga Teramoto, "Chibetto den no agon-kyō ni tsuite", in *Shūkyō Kenkyū*, New Series, 2, 1929, pp. 505–28.

² Lalou 1929, pp. 99–102.

³ Louis Renou, Jean Filliozat, et al., *L'Inde classique*, tome II, Hanoi, 1953, § 2039.

⁴ *EB* III/1, p. 153.

⁵ Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1971, pp. 295–97. Gregory Schopen has devoted a long footnote to them (Schopen 1982, p. 231, note 9: note that the description "13 short texts" is wrong: §§ 1.3–4 are long, and 1.2 very long.). Nos. 1.6, 8, 10, and 13 are discussed (in Japanese) by Yamaguchi Tsutomu, "On Pāli Scriptures in the Tibetan Canon — Peking numbers 752, 754, 756, and 759", in the *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. XXXI, no. 1, Dec. 1982, pp. 95–98 (391–388). Nattier (1991, p. 59) remarks that "only a handful of texts known to the Theravādin tradition can be matched with equivalents in the Tibetan *Kanjur*"; in note 80 she lists most of the 13 *gsar 'gyur*, followed by Peking numbers 955–58, 962–63, 966, 982, 997, and 1005. This statement needs clarification. The 13 *gsar 'gyur* are themselves Theravādin texts, while the other texts listed by Nattier are all (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin texts (which indeed have Pāli parallels). Furthermore, Peking numbers 959–60, 971, 979, 981, 992, 1003, and 1021, as well as a few others, are also (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin texts with Pāli parallels, and nos. 1010 and 972 (= §§ 1.14 and 15 in this article) are Theravādin texts. A concordance of Śrāvaka literature in Tibetan translation is a desideratum.

colophons from Mongolian.¹ Pāli parallels of 1.1–4 and 1.13 were noted in the Tohoku Catalogue, published in 1934;² the Pāli parallels of 1.1–4, 1.6 (part A only), and 1.8–13 were given in the Otani and Peking Reprint Catalogues, published in 1930–32 and 1961.³ The Pāli parallel of 1.5 and 1.14 was noted by Sylvain Lévi in 1932.⁴ (As far as I know, the Pāli counterpart of 1.7.A is identified here for the first time.) Thus the 13 *gsar 'gyur* have caught the attention of modern scholarship from the time of Feer up to the present; brief remarks have been made by Conze, Lévi, Lalou, Pelliot, Imaeda, Ruegg, Schopen, and Nattier (and no doubt others whose work has escaped my attention), as shown in the notes.

The Tohoku and Otani catalogues also give Chinese parallels, when available. According to the concordance of the Derge and Korean *Tripitakas* given in Lancaster's *Korean Buddhist Canon*,⁵ only D 39 (no. 1.9 below) has a true Chinese parallel, in that it might be a translation of a Theravādin version. Derge numbers 31, 33, 34, 36, and 42 (below 1.1, 1.3, 1.4, 1.6, and 1.12) also have parallels in Chinese, but these are versions of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, Dharmaguptakas, or other schools.⁶

¹ Bischoff 1968, §§ 779–91, pp. 333–40; see also § 1105 (pp. 537–39) for § 1.14 with its titles in the same three languages and its colophon translated from Mongolian. Note that all of the texts dealt with in this article — both *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*, but excepting the modern translations of § 3 — are also available in Mongolian translation. For a rare notice that Theravādin literature exists in that language, see David Seyfort Ruegg, "Some Observations on the Present and Future of Buddhist Studies", *JiABS* 15/1 (1992), pp. 110–11 and note 5, referring to the 13 *gsar 'gyur*.

² *Ui et al.* 1934, pp. 225–29.

³ *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka*, Otani Daigaku Library, Kyoto, 1930–32, pp. 225–29; Peking Reprint, Vol. 165, Catalogue I, pp. 94–96.

⁴ Lévi 1932.

⁵ *KBC*, p. 697.

⁶ The concordance lists *KBC* 650 (22.8) for both Derge 41 and 42; this seems to refer to the *Sūrya-* and *Candra-sūtras* as parallels of a sole Chinese *Candra-*

The original language of the 13 texts

The Tibetan titles state that the 13 texts were translated from "the language of India" (*rgya gar skad*), which generally means Sanskrit. It seems to have been Feer who first averred that they were translated from Pāli.¹ What should have been only a hypothesis took on the force of fact, and the statement has been repeated in later works.² The opposite extreme was taken by Edward Conze, pioneer of Prajñāpāramitā studies, who stated that "[the 13 texts] are sometimes said to be translated from the Pāli, but they differ too much from the Pāli text, and on closer investigation they turn out to represent Hīnayāna Sūtras from the Canon of the Sarvāstivādins and other Hīnayāna sects in contact with Tibet".³ It will be seen below that the 13 are without doubt Theravādin texts: perhaps Conze confused them with their (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin counterparts found elsewhere in the *Kanjur*, although only five texts have such counterparts, and they are not in the *Śer phyin* section.

In accordance with *Kanjur* tradition, the titles are transliterated in Sanskrit at the head of each text; they may, however, have been Sanskritized by the translators or by later editors. It is significant that the

sūtra, presumably because the texts are nearly identical. See *KBC* p. 245, and below 1.11 and 1.12.

¹ He describes them as "traduits du pali" at several places under the references cited below; in *AMG* II (1881), pp. 288–90, he refers to "un avertissement inséré entre le texte no. 12 et le texte no. 13, au folio 427 [of the Narthang]" as his source. There is no such remark in the edition of Narthang that I consulted, and I have not found any reference to the language of the texts in the colophons (and indeed wonder what the Tibetan equivalent of Pāli would be). It may be that Feer based his statement on the fact that Ānandaśrī is described as a Sinhalese. See also Lévi, "Les saintes écritures du bouddhisme", in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, Paris, 1937, p. 78: "treize sūtra ... qui se présentent eux-mêmes comme traduits du pali", and Schopen's remarks (1982, p. 231, note 9), which go to the opposite extreme.

² See, for example, *L'Inde classique*, *loc. cit.*, "une suite de 13 textes traduits du pali", and p. 352; Bischoff 1968, p. 333, "13 Pāli-Texte".

³ E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1978, p. 25.

titles of the *Āṭānāṭiya-* and *Mahāsamaya-sūtra* (1.3,4) are given in the Pāli forms *Āṭānāṭiya-* and *Mahāsamaya* against the *Āṭānāṭika/Āṭānāṭiya* and *Mahāsamāja* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin versions. The fact that Ānandaśrī was a Sinhalese suggests that the originals were indeed in Pāli; this is supported by the fact that the texts agree with the canonical Pāli versions and that Bu ston learned the Sinhalese script at Thar pa gliñ. Since even a novice in Ceylon would know the *paritta* by heart, Ānandaśrī might well have transmitted the *paritta* texts (at least 1.1, 3–6, 8, 10–13) orally. While it is not impossible that some Theravādin texts were circulated in Sanskrit in India, it is quite unlikely that a senior Sinhalese monk, who knew the *paritta* by heart, would have transmitted these canonical texts in Sanskrit, although he may well have used Sanskrit when he explained the texts to his Tibetan co-translators. It is possible, however, that some of the longer texts were in Sinhalese.

In the following, I briefly discuss the contents of the 13 texts and their relationship to their Pāli counterparts. For each text I first give the Sanskrit title, as given at the head of the Tibetan text, followed by the Tibetan translation of the title, and an English translation. The next line gives the catalogue number of the Derge edition (D), which I have utilized for this study; the Derge folio numbers; and, in parentheses, the length of the text in “folio pages”, counting one side of a folio as one folio page.¹ The next line gives the catalogue numbers for eleven other editions: Berlin (B), Cone (C), Lhasa (H), Lithang (J), London (L), Urga (M), Narthang (N), Peking (Q), Stog (S), Tokyo (T), and Ulan Bator (U), plus that of Bu ston’s *Chos ’byun* (Bu ston). The next line gives the

¹ For this study I have had continual access to only two editions, Derge (D) and Peking (Q); information about other editions derives from the catalogues listed in the bibliography. While I have used the Derge as the basic edition for the study of the 13 texts, in occasional consultation with the Peking, I have relied on the Peking for the study of 1.14, which is not available in the Derge, for the study of the *Tanjur* texts, and for certain other references. The edition used should be clear from the notes or references.

title and location of the Pāli counterpart; here I give both its position in the *Tipiṭaka*,¹ and, for those texts that are also *parittas*, their number in a Ceylonese *paritta* collection, the “expanded” *Cātubhānavāra* or *Maha Pirit Pota*.² Bibliographical information about non-Theravādin, i.e. (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin, counterparts in the *Kanjur*, when such exist (that is, for 1.1, 3, 4, 12, 13), is given in square brackets [...] at this point. The next line gives the location of the *sutta*, by whom it was spoken, and to whom it was addressed. After that I briefly compare the Tibetan and Pāli versions. In general I use Pāli equivalents of the Tibetan rather than Sanskrit;³ this is only a device for ease of comparison with the Pāli, and does not absolutely imply that the texts were translated from Pāli.

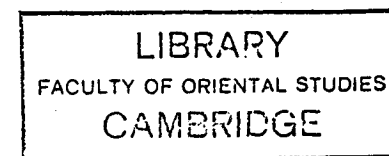
- 1.1. *Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra* / *Chos kyi ’khor lo rab tu bskor ba’i mdo*⁴
Sūtra on the Turning of the Wheel of the Dhamma
 D 31, 180b1–183a6 (6 folio pages)
 B (40).13, C 1014, H 32, J 26, L XXXVI(1), M 31, N 347, Q 747, S 289, T 286, U 335, Bu ston 378
Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta, *Samyuttanikāya* V 420.25–424.11; *Maha Pirit Pota* 22
 Translated by Feer, *JA* 1870 pp. 363 foll. and *AMG* V 110–22.

¹ References (by page and line) are to the editions of the Pāli Text Society (PTS), unless otherwise noted.

² Lionel Lokuliyana, *Cātubhānavārapāli, the Text of the Four Recitals or the Great Book of Protections Sinhala-Maha Pirit Pota*, Colombo, n.d. Reference is by text number.

³ Sanskrit equivalents are based on the lexicon composed by a committee of Indian and Tibetan scholars around the year 800, the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (Mvy). For these I give the Pāli counterpart.

⁴ The title in the colophon to DLNS is *Chos kyi ’khor lo bskor ba’i mdo*; the title in the final collective colophon in CDQ is *’Phags pa chos kyi ’khor lo bskor [bkor Q] ba’i mdo*.



[The *Kanjur* also contains an anonymous translation of a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin recension, entitled *Dharmacakra-sūtra / Chos kyi 'khor lo'i mdo*: Q 1003, Vol. 39, *mdo sna tshogs, śu* 283b1–285a7. The text is also incorporated into the *Vinaya* ('*Dul ba*) of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and into the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, both in Tibetan translation. These versions were translated jointly by Feer side-by-side with the Theravādin versions as embodied in the present text and the Pāli *Samyuttanikāya* (see references above).]

Tibetan, Pāli: spoken by the Buddha at Bārāṇasī, Isipatana, Migadāya, to the “group of five monks” (*pañcavaggiye bhikkhū*).

The Tibetan agrees closely with the Pāli. At 181a1, equivalent to S V 421,21, the Tibetan omits *soka-parideva-dukkha-domanassupāyāsā pi dukkhā*, given in the PTS edition on the basis of one Burmese manuscript (B¹), but, according to note 2, omitted in two Sinhalese (S¹⁻³) and one Burmese (B²) manuscripts.¹ It is also not found in the Siamese edition,² the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgī edition,³ or the Ceylonese *Maha Pirit Pota* (p. 72,2). The third and final insight into each of the four truths — that they are *pariññātaṃ, pahīnaṃ, sacchikataṃ, and bhāvitāṃ* (S V 422,3–30) — is missing in the Tibetan. The omission must derive from a faulty manuscript or translation: since the insights are an essential part of the sutta, their omission cannot be deliberate or redactional. At the end of the sutta, the progression of the gods who announce that the Buddha has turned the wheel of the dhamma is the same in Tibetan and Pāli; while the Tibetan (182a3–183a1) gives the formula in full for each group of gods, the PTS (p. 423,28), Siamese (p. 532,2), and Burmese (p. 371,13) editions abbreviate the passage, giving only the names of the gods.

¹ See S V, Introduction, pp. vii–viii, for the manuscripts utilized by the editor.

² *Syāmrattassa Tepitakam*, Vol. 19, Third edition, Bangkok, 2523, p. 529,1.

³ *Mahāvaggasamyuttapāli*, p. 369,15.

In order to demonstrate that the Tibetan represents a Theravādin recension, I will contrast a few passages with the Mūlasarvāstivādin version, as preserved in Sanskrit in their *Saṅghabhedavastu* (*Saṅghabh*), and with the Mahāsāṃghika Lokottaravādin version, preserved in “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” in their *Mahāvastu*.¹

Table 3 shows the “epithets of insight” according to four recensions: the first column gives the Tibetan, the second column a Pāli translation of the Tibetan, the third column the Pāli of the *Samyuttanikāya*, the fourth the Sanskrit of the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, and the fifth the Sanskrit of the *Mahāvastu*. The Tibetan and Pāli agree in giving the same five synonyms of insight in the same order. The Mūlasarvāstivādin version gives only four, of which three are common to the Tibetan and Pāli, while the Lokottaravādin version gives seven, comprising all five of the Theravādin version, but in a different order, plus two others, one of which is common to the Mūlasarvāstivādin version.²

The first class of gods to proclaim the turning of the wheel of the dhamma is the “gods of the earth” (*sa'i lha*, 182a4; *bhumā devā*, S V 423,18; *bhūmyā devā*, *Mahāvastu* 443,13) in Tibetan, Pāli, and the *Mahāvastu*, but “*yakṣas* of the earth” (*bhaumā yakṣāḥ*, *Saṅghabh* 136,24) in the Mūlasarvāstivādin version. In the Tibetan and Pāli the naming of Koṇḍañña occurs at the very end of the sutta; in the Mūlasarvāstivādin version it comes before the gods' announcement of the turning of the wheel (*Saṅghabh* 136,15); in the *Mahāvastu* it does not occur at all.

¹ R. Basak, *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1968.

² The numbers given in parentheses after the *Saṅghabhedavastu* and *Mahāvastu* entries are those of the Tibetan-Pāli entries.

At the end of the Tibetan and Pāli versions, just before the naming of Koṇḍañña, the sutta states that the earth quaked. The Tibetan (D 183a2) and Pāli (S V 424,4) correspond almost exactly:

“This ten-thousand world-system (Tib. *'dir yañ 'jig rten gyi khams ston phrag bcu* = Pāli *ayañ ca dasasahassī lokadhātu*) quaked (*yañ dag par g'yos so = samkampī*), shook (*yañ dag par rab tu g'yos so = sampakampi*), [and] trembled (*yañ dag par rab tu ldeg go = sampavedhī*).”¹

The Lokottaravādin version (*Mahāvastu* 443,2) has *iyam ca mahāprthivi atiriva ṣaḍvikāram kampe chinnaṃ iva sampravedhe*. The Mūlasarvāstivādin version does not contain the passage.

The few examples given here show that the Tibetan version agrees with the Pāli against the Sanskrit versions of the Lokottaravādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins; many more could be cited.

1.2. *Jātaka-nidāna / sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi*²

Introduction to the Jātaka

D 32, 183a7–250a5 (137 1/2 folio pages)

B (40).14, C 1015, H 33, J 27, L XXXVI(2), M 32, N 348,

Q 748, S 290, T 287, U 336, Bu ston 379

Jātaka-nidāna: Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I 2,1–94,30

Partial translation by Feer, compared with the Pāli, *AMG V* 321–61.

¹ The *'dir yañ* (“here”, “then” = *tatra*?) of the Tibetan does not exactly correspond to the *ayañ ca* of the Pāli. The Tibetan prefixes *yañ dag par* = *saṃ*, *rab tu* = *pa*.

² The colophon — D 250a3, L 99a8, N 543a3, S 140b6 — gives the title as *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi* (LNS: D [altered from *gzi 'i*?] reads *gzi ri*) *bśad pa*; the final collective colophon in CDQ reads *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi 'i* (CD: *bzi 'i* Q) *bśad pa*.

The Tibetan does not contain the opening verses of the Pāli, which belong to the *Jātaka Commentary* as a whole rather than just the *Jātaka-nidāna*. The Tibetan opens with prose:

When the Lord was staying in Anāthapiṇḍika’s Pleasance in the Jeta Grove at Sāvathī, the Great Elder (*mahāthera*) Atthadassī (*gnas brtan chen po don mthon*) went to the Lord, paid homage, circumambulated him, sat to one side, and addressed the Lord: “Sir, I would like to hear the teaching on the lineage of the Lord Buddhas (*sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi rgyud kyi chos*)”. [The Lord] replied, “Pay attention, Atthadassī, and I will speak”.

This introductory passage (*nidāna*), which accords the following text with the canonical status of a sutta, is not found in the Pāli, which is, of course, a commentary. The Pāli opens with verses in which the commentator explains his reasons for composing the work. In verse 7, he states that he was requested to do so by the Elder (*thera*) Atthadassī, along with (vv. 8, 9) Buddhamitta and Buddhadeva. Since Atthadassī is not one of the early elders mentioned in the suttas;¹ since the Tibetan prose reflects in other ways the opening Pāli verses; and since the text is not a sutta, the prose introduction must be a later concoction or a mistranslation, based on but altering the sense of the Pāli verses.

After the prose introduction, the Tibetan corresponds to the *Jātaka-nidāna* text. As in Pāli, the career of the bodhisatta is divided into three phases (183b2). These are defined as in Pāli, and lend their structure to the text:

¹ cf. *DPPN* I 55–56.

<i>rin po'i gleṅ gzi</i>	= <i>dūrenidāna</i>	D 183b5 foll., <i>Jātaka</i> 2,12 foll.
<i>bar pa'i gleṅ gzi</i>	= <i>avidūrenidāna</i> ¹	D 216a1 foll., <i>Jātaka</i> 47,20 foll.
<i>ñe ba'i gleṅ gzi</i>	= <i>santikenidāna</i>	D 237a1 foll., <i>Jātaka</i> 77,3 foll.

The Tibetan ends, as does the Pāli, with the donation of the Jetavana, verses on the advantages of donating monasteries, and a description of how the past Buddhas also had monasteries on the same spot. The two versions show some differences on the size of the monasteries.

I have not been able to make a complete comparison of the two versions. Such comparison as I have made convinces me that they represent fundamentally the same text: the Tibetan follows the progression of the Pāli throughout, and the passages that I have checked, including many of the verses, agree word for word with the Pāli. This is only natural since the *Jātakanidāna* is a uniquely Theravādin text.

- 1.3. *Āṭānāṭiya-sūtra* / *ICaṅ lo can gyi pho braṅ gi mdo*
*Āṭānāṭiya Sūtra*²
 D 33, 250a5–259b4 (19 folio pages)
 B (40).15, C 1016, H 34, J 28, L XXXVI(3), M 33, N 349,
 Q 749, S 291, T 288, U 337, Bu ston 380
Āṭānāṭiya-sutta, D 32, Vol. III 194–206; *Maha Pirit Pota* 29

¹ Tibetan *bar pa* translates Sanskrit *madhyama* = Pāli *majjhima*. At 237a1, the phrase is rendered as *gleṅ gzi bar ma*; *bar ma* can translate *antara* as well as *madhyama*. If the translation is not a gloss, *antara-nidāna* seems more likely than *majjhima-nidāna*.

² *Āṭānāṭiya*, according to the Pāli commentary, derives from *Āṭānāṭa*, a city mentioned in the sutta (D III 200,24). The Tibetan interprets the title in the same way: *lcaṅ lo can* = *aṭakavatī* / *alakavatī* Mvy 4137 (*lcaṅ lo*, “curl, lock” to Sanskrit *alaka*) + *pho braṅ* = “residence, town” (*dhānī*, Mvy 5510, *pura* Mvy 5511). But there are further complications, for which see Hoffmann (bibliographical information in text) pp. 22–24.

[A (probably) Mūlasarvāstivādin parallel, translated ca. 800 by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye šes sde, occurs twice in the *Kanjur*: *Āṭānāṭiyasūtra-nāma-mahāsūtra* / *mDo chen po kun tu rgyu ba daṅ kun tu rgyu ba ma yin pa daṅ mthun pa'i mdo*, Q 333 (*rgyud ba*), Q 687 (*rgyud ya*). Extensive Sanskrit fragments of a (probably) Sarvāstivādin recension from Central Asia were published by Helmut Hoffmann, and compared with the Tibetan, Chinese and Pāli versions, in *Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten* (Kleinere Sanskrit-texte Heft V), Leipzig, 1939, reprinted Stuttgart, 1987, in Lore Sander (ed.), *Nachträge zu “Kleinere Sanskrit-texte, Hefte III–V”*, along with further Sanskrit fragments (pp. 193–207). Page references are to the reprint edition.]

Tibetan, Pāli: at Rājagaha, Gijjhakūṭa Mountain; the first part is spoken by Vessavaṇa to the Buddha, the second part by the Buddha to the monks in general.

Like the Pāli, the Tibetan is divided into two parts. The first part ends at D 254b7, *lcaṅ lo can gyi pho braṅ gi mdo las skabs rab mchog daṅ po*, in Pāli at D III 206,4, *paṭhama-bhāṇavāra*; the second part at D 259b2, *skabs rab mchog gñis*, in Pāli *dutiya-bhāṇavāra*.¹ *Skabs rab mchog*, a compound otherwise unknown to me in Tibetan, must somehow correspond to the Pāli *bhāṇavāra*, “recitation”. *Skabs* translates a number of Sanskrit terms, such as *avakāśa*, *sthāna*, *kāṇḍa*, and *pariccheda*, and is probably a gloss. Both *rab* and *mchog* are used in Tibetan to translate *vara*; thus *rab mchog* may represent either a misreading (twice) of *vāra* as *vara*, or a correct translation of a manuscript that read (twice) *vara* for *vāra*.

¹ cf. Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti edition, p. 166,14.

In the Tibetan version, both parts are given in full, without abbreviation; the PTS version abbreviates the second part to six lines (D III 206,7–14), the Siamese edition to two and a half pages (219,5–221,11), while the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti edition gives it in full. The correspondence is very close. The Tibetan and Pāli include sections not found in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin versions: the verses of homage to the seven Buddhas (D 251a3 foll. = D III 195,27–196,17); the prose passage on the spirits (*amanussa*) who do not heed the Four Great Kings, with the simile of the dacoits who do not heed the King of Magadha (253b3 foll. = D III 203,24–204,20); and the prose passage which describes the various ways in which the *yakkhas* take leave of the Buddha (254b4 foll. = D III 205,21–206,4). Conversely, the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin versions contain passages not found in the Theravādin version, Tibetan or Pāli: the opening verse of homage (Hoffmann 48–49), the verse lists of *gandharvas* (72–73), *kumbhāṇḍas* (78–79), *nāgas* (66–67), and so on.

1.4. *Mahāsamaya-sūtra* / 'Dus pa chen po'i mdo

Sūtra of the Great Assembly

D 34, 259b4–263a4 (7 folio pages)

B (40).16, C 1017, H 35, J 29, L XXXVI(4), M 34, N 350,

Q 750, S 292, T 289, U 338, Bu ston 374

Mahāsamaya-sutta, D 20, Vol. II 253–62; *Maha Pirit Pota* 23

[A (probably) Mūlasarvāstivādin parallel, translated ca. 800 by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye šes sde, occurs twice in the *Kanjur*: *Mahāsamājasūtra-nāma-mahāsūtra* / *mDo chen po 'dus pa chen po'i mdo*, Q 332 (*rgyud ba*), Q 687 (*rgyud ya*). Comparative studies of some of the lists of deities were undertaken by J. Przyłuski and M. Lalou in their "Notes de mythologie bouddhique": (1) "Yakṣa et gandharva dans le Mahāsamaya-suttanta", *HJAS* 3 (1938), pp. 40–46, and (3) "Les fils de Brahmā", *HJAS* 4 (1939), pp. 69–76. Extensive Sanskrit fragments of a

(probably) Sarvāstivādin recension from Central Asia were published by Ernst Waldschmidt, and compared with two Chinese versions, the Pāli, and the Tibetan, in *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon* (Kleinere Sanskrit-texte, Heft IV), Leipzig, 1932, pp. 149–206 (repr. Wiesbaden, 1979). A revised edition of the Sanskrit, based on further manuscript fragments, was published by the same author with English translation in his "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas", in Bechert 1980, pp. 148–62. The latter was reprinted in Lore Sander (ed.), *Nachträge zu "Kleinere Sanskrit-texte, Hefte III–V"*, along with further Sanskrit fragments (pp. 159–79).]

Tibetan, Pāli: spoken by the Buddha among the Sakkas at Kapilavatthu, Mahāvana, to the monks in general.

A romanized edition of the Tibetan *Mahāsamaya-sūtra* has been published, side-by-side with the Pāli, by Y. Miyasaka, with introduction and comments in Japanese.¹ The Tibetan and Pāli are very close. The Tibetan omits six lines of verse (Miyasaka, p. 117), and adds a single line of verse in a refrain: *miñ ni gcig tu thos pa ste* (Miyasaka 118,1, 12, 23, 34). The line is not found in the Pāli *Mahāsamaya-sutta*, but occurs in the corresponding verse refrain in the Pāli *Āṭṭānāṭṭiya-sutta*²: *ekanāmā ti me sutam*.

1.5. *Maitrī-sūtra* / *Byams pa'i mdo*

*Sūtra on [the Next Buddha], Maitreya*³

¹ Miyasaka Yusho, "A Critical Study on the Mahāsamaya-sūtra", in *Acta Indologica* I, Narita, 1970, pp. 109–35.

² D III 197,10, etc.

³ The Sanskrit title in Tibetan transcription for both this and 1.14, *maitrī*, is not the proper name but the abstract noun for "friendliness". The usual Sanskrit form of the name is Maitreya (cf. *BHSD*, p. 440 for variant forms). The Tibetan equivalent for both the name and abstract noun is *byams pa*. The Sanskrit title should properly be *Maitreya-sūtra*. In modern Newari, Maitreya is pronounced

D 35, 263a4–270a1 (13 1/2 folio pages)
B (40).17, C 1018, H 36, J 30, L XXXVI(5), M 35, N 351,
Q 751, S 293, T 290, U 339, Bu ston 375

**Metteyya-sutta*

Tibetan, Pāli: spoken at Kapilavatthu, Nigrodhārāma, on the bank of the Rohiṇī River.¹

In this section I will also discuss 1.14, which bears the same title prefixed by *Ārya*. This is a different translation of a similar but not identical text.² The basis of the two Tibetan versions is a text corresponding at least in part to the non-canonical Pāli *Metteyya-sutta*, a prose text mixed with the verses of the *Anāgatavaṃsa*. In 1886, Prof. J. Minayeff published an edition of the *Anāgatavaṃsa*, a verse text in 142 verses on the future Buddha, *Metteyya*.³ In 1919, a new edition was published by E. Leumann.⁴ A Burmese manuscript utilized by Minayeff and labelled by him manuscript B is in mixed prose and verse; according to the colophon it is entitled *Metteyyasutta Anāgatavaṃsa*. Minayeff cites

Maitrī, whether it is written Maitreya or Maitrī; since Ńi ma rgyal mtshan spent 14 years in Nepal, the spelling in at least the present title may derive from the Newari pronunciation. This does not explain the title of 1.14, unless the co-translator Kun dga' rgyal mtshan Thub bstan dpal bzañ po also had studied in Nepal. Note that other *Kanjur* titles containing the name Maitreya, such as the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* discussed above, use the standard form Maitreya.

¹ cf. *DPPN* II 762 for the location.

² The two texts are briefly discussed in Lévi 1932, pp. 377–80; cf. also Nattier 1991, p. 59.

³ *JPTS* II (1886), pp. 33–53.

⁴ E. Leumann, *Maitreya-Samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten*, Strassburg, 1919, pp. 184–226. This work was not available to me for this study; the reference is from Saya U Chit Tin, assisted by W. Pruitt, *The Coming Buddha Ariya Metteyya*, Heddington near Calne, 1988, which reproduces Leumann's text (p. 33, note).

several portions and summarizes the *sutta*, which I will refer to in the following as *Metteyya-sutta*.

(A text [or texts ?] of this title is referred to by Louis Finot, "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne", *BÉFEO* XVII/5, [1917], pp. 64–65; in G. Coedès, *Catalogue des manuscrits en pāli, laotien et siamois provenant de la thaïlande*, Copenhagen, 1966, p. 28; and in Charles F. Keyes, "New Evidence on Northern Thai Frontier History", in Tej Bunnag and M. Smithies (edd.), *In Memoriam Phya Anuman Rajadhon*, Bangkok, 1970, p. 247, item 24. As far as I know, the *Metteyya-sutta* is known only in South-east Asia and not in Ceylon; it is therefore interesting that it was taken to Tibet by a Sinhalese monk. The *Metteyya-sutta* — along with the present text[s] — is related to the *Metteyya* chapter [Ch. 1] of the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa*, for which see François Martini, "Dasa-bodhisatta-uddesa", *BÉFEO* XXXVI, [1936], pp. 287–413, and Supaphan 1990, pp. 190–204. Note that the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* referred to above [p. 79 and note 5 thereto] is a different, non-Theravādin [probabaly (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin] Maitreya text.)

For comparison, I will give the opening (*nidāna*) of the two Tibetan versions and of the Pāli *Metteyya-sutta*.

1.5, *Maitrī-sūtra* (D 35, 263a5)

ston pa dus gcig na ser skya'i gzi dañ | nya gro dha'i kun dga'
ra ba dañ | chu kluñ ro hi ni'i 'gram na bžugs so || de nas tshe
dañ ldan pa šā ri'i bus ma 'oñs pa'i rgyal ba de'i phyir bcom
ldan 'das la žus pa |

At one time the Teacher (*satthā*) was staying at Kapilavatthu, at the Nigrodha Pleasance (*ārāma*), on the banks of the Rohiṇī river. Then Venerable Sāriputta, for the sake of the Conqueror (*jina*) of the future, asked the Lord ...

1.14, *Ārya-maitrī-sūtra* (Q 1010, 304a5)¹

'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na / bcom ldan 'das ston pa
ser skya'i gnas nya gro dha'i gstug lag khañ ro hi ni'i 'bab
chu'i 'gram na bžugs so // de nas tshe dañ ldan pa šā ri'i bus
bcom ldan 'das la dri ba 'di skad ces gsol to //

Thus I once heard: the Lord, the Teacher (*satthā*), was staying at
Kapilavatthu, at the Nigrodha Monastery (*vihāra*), on the banks
of the Rohiṇī river. Then Venerable Sāriputta asked the Lord
this question

Metteyya-sutta (Minayeff p. 33)

evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā kapilavatthusmiṃ
viharati nigrodhārāme rohaniyā nāma nadiyā tīre. atha kho
āyasmā sārīputto anāgatajanam (sic: correct to *jinam*) ārabha
bhagavantam pucchi

Thus I once heard: the Lord was staying at Kapilavatthu, at the
Nigrodha Pleasance (*ārāma*), on the banks of the Rohiṇī river.
Then Venerable Sāriputta questioned the Lord on the topic of
the future Conqueror (*jina*)

While the translation of 1.5 is awkward, that of 1.14 is quite
smooth. 1.14 and the Pāli open with “thus I once heard”, not given in 1.5.
The latter, however, agrees with the Pāli in using *ārāma*, against the
vihāra of 1.14, and the *ma 'oñs pa'i rgyal ba de'i phyir* of 1.5 probably
corresponds to the *anāgatajinam ārabha* of the Pāli, not found in 1.14.
These few lines suggest that the unravelling of the relationship between
the various versions promises to be a complex task.

¹ cf. 1.14 below for full bibliographical information. Since 1.14 is not available in
D, I have used Q.

The *Maitrī-sūtra* (D 263a5) then gives two verses, the first
spoken by Sāriputta, the second by the Buddha, corresponding to
Anāgatavaṃsa verses 2cd–5. Minayeff's *Metteyya-sutta* gives a “history
of the previous existences of Metteyya”, not found in the Tibetan
versions. The latter (D 263b1 foll., Q 304b1 foll.) open with the five
periods (*bar gyi dus*) of the decline of the Buddha's teaching, parallel to
the five “disappearances” (*antaradhāna*)¹ of the *Metteyya-sutta*
(Minayeff p. 34):

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) 'bras bu'i bar gyi dus | *phala-antara-kāla | = adhigama-antaradhāna |
| 2) bsgrub pa'i bar gyi dus | *paṭipatti-antara-kāla | = paṭipatti-antaradhāna |
| 3) luñ gi bar gyi dus | *āgama-antara-kāla | = pariyatti-antaradhāna |
| 4) rtags tsam gyi bar gyi dus | *liṅgamatta-antara-kāla | = liṅga-antaradhāna |
| 5) sku gduñ gi bar gyi dus | *dhātu-antara-kāla | = dhātu-antaradhāna |

These are then defined. Under (3), *luñ gi bar gyi dus*, it is said
that the *Tipiṭaka* will disappear, starting with the *Abhidhamma*. “When
the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* has disappeared, the *Suttanta Piṭaka* will
disappear....Then only the *Jātaka* (*sKyes rabs*) along with the *Vinaya*
(*'Dul ba*) will remain....First the *Vessantara-jātaka* (*Thams cad sgröl
gyi skeyes pa'i rabs*²) will disappear; finally the *Apaṇṇaka-jātaka* (D *Lo
ma med pa*, “without leaf” (*paṇṇa*); Q *A pa rna ka*: note the Sanskrit
form) will disappear.” The seven books of the Theravādin *Abhidhamma*
and the four of the *Suttanta* are listed, with several severe mistranslations
and an unconventional order. These are given in Table 5.³

¹ While *bar gyi* = *antara*, *dus* (time, period) = *kāla*, *samaya*, etc., and is hard to
reconcile with *-dhāna*. I have given **antara-kāla* as a tentative equivalent.

² *Thams cad sgröl* = *Viśvaṃtara*, Mvy 32.

³ The list of the books of the *Abhidhamma* in the original was probably one long
compound; both D and Q confuse the titles by merging them or breaking them up
with the addition of *dañ* = *ca*, “and”, given in parentheses in the table. In the table
I have given for comparison the titles as translated by the 20th century scholar
Gedun Chomphel (for whom see below, § 3.1), which are correct.

(This description of the decline of the Buddha's dispensation seems to be unique to the Theravādins. The closest parallels that I know of are those given by Daśabalaśrimitra, without naming his source, in his *Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya* and by Bu ston from a *Ṭikā* on the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, which speak of 500 years divided into ten somewhat similar periods.¹ Nattier [1991, p. 59] suggests that the "standard figure" of 5000 years accepted in Tibet for the duration of Śākyamuni's dispensation is derived from the *Maitrī-sūtra*. This is incorrect: the source is the *Śatasāhasrikā-ṭikā* [*'Bum ṭik*], as seen from Bu ston's citation and from other citations in Tibetan literature, which never refer to the *Maitrī-sūtra* with its unfamiliar list of Theravādin texts.² The listing of the five periods was very popular in late Theravādin literature, particularly in Siam, where it is given for example in the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, the *Sārasaṅgaha*, and the *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa*.³)

Minayeff (p. 31) then states, "Immediately after this there follows an account of the destruction of the Kappa". This seems to agree with the Tibetan versions, which give here a description of the three *antarakappa* (*bskal pa bar ma*: D 264b7 foll., Q 306a5 foll.).

The stage now being set, the two Tibetan versions go on to describe the aeon that ushers in *Metteyya*, the main theme of the work, as does the Pāli version. Both D and Q close with variations of the stock sutta ending: "When the Lord had spoken thus, the monks applauded the Lord's teaching" (D 269b6); "Thus spoke the Lord; the entire assembly

¹ Daśabalaśrimitra (see below, § 2.1), *ñō*, 265b4–266a5; Vogel 1991, pp. 405–6; Obermiller 1932, pp. 103–4. cf. also Macdonald 1963, pp. 62–66, and especially the table on p. 65.

² See e.g. Ruegg 1992, pp. 268, 284–89, and accompanying notes.

³ cf. Supaphan 1990, pp. 165, 269. For further references, and for the theory of decline in general, see Nattier 1991.

together with Venerable Sāriputta was uplifted, and applauded the Lord's teaching" (Q 311b2).

Like the *Metteyya-sutta*, the two Tibetan versions are in prose and verse. Most of the verses that I have traced have counterparts in the *Anāgatavaṃsa*. Some examples from 1.5, the *Maitrī-sūtra* are:

265b7–267a2	= <i>Anāgatavaṃsa</i> vv. 15–42
267b5–7	= <i>Anāgatavaṃsa</i> vv. 100–102
268a1	= <i>Anāgatavaṃsa</i> v. 57
268a5–6	= <i>Anāgatavaṃsa</i> vv. 110–111
269b5	= <i>Anāgatavaṃsa</i> vv. 141cd, 142

1.6. *Maitrībhāvanā-sūtra* / *Byams pa bsgom pa'i mdo*
Sūtra on the Cultivation of Friendliness

D 36, 270a1–b7 (2 folio pages)

B (40).18, C 1019, H 37, J 31, L XXXVI(6), M 36, N 352,
Q 752, S 294, T 291, U 340, Bu ston 376

Translated by Feer, *AMG* V 221–23; translated by W. Rockhill,
Indian Antiquary 12, 1883.¹

The Tibetan combines two Pāli texts, both of them *parittas*, under one title and one *nidāna*. These will be discussed here as 1.6.A and 1.6.B.

1.6.A. D 270a2–7

Metta-sutta, A V 342,1–14; *Maha Pirit Pota* 11, *Mettānisamsa-sutta*

¹ Information from *Crystal Mirror* Vol. VII, Berkeley, 1971, p. 296.

Tibetan, Pāli: spoken by the Buddha at Sāvathī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍika's Pleasance, to the monks in general.

The *sutta* lists eleven benefits derived from the practice of friendliness (*metta*); these are the same and occur in the same order in Tibetan and Pāli.

- 1.6.B. D 270a7–b6
Mūgapakkhajātaka, Jātaka 538, Ja VI 14,5*–25* (vv. 12–21)
Mittānisamsaṃ, Maha Pirit Pota 12

The Tibetan counterpart of the *Mittānisamsa* follows directly upon the preceding, as it does in the *Catubhāṇavāra*, where, however, it is a separate text. The Tibetan versions are linked by a statement made by the Buddha: “Furthermore, monks, I will expound the benefits of friendliness” (*byams pa'i phan yon = mettānisamsa*). The ten verses of the Tibetan correspond closely to the ten of the Pāli. The latter, however, deal with friendship (*mitta*).¹ The Pāli verses end with the single-line refrain *yo mittānaṃ na dūbhati*, “he who does not deceive friends”; the corresponding refrain in Tibetan is *gañ gis byams pa ma spaṅs na'o*, “he who does not forsake friendliness”. “Forsake” (*spaṅs*) could correspond to Pāli *cajati, jahati, pajahati, vajjeti*, and so on.

The Tibetan (270b6) ends with the stock formula, “Thus spoke the Lord; the monks applauded his teaching”, not found in either the *Jātaka* or the *Maha Pirit Pota*.

¹ It is not uncommon, however, for Pāli manuscripts to give *metta*- rather than *mitta*- in the title: see Oskar von Hinüber, “The Pāli Manuscripts kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok, A Short Catalogue”, *JSS* 75 (1987), pp. 21 (*mettāparitta*), 32 (*mettānisamsa*).

- 1.7. *Pañcasīkṣānuśamsa-sūtra / bSlab pa lña'i phan yon gyi mdo*¹
Sūtra on the Benefits of the Five Trainings
 D 37, 271a1–276a5 (10 folio pages +)
 B (40).19, C 1020, H 38, J 32, L XXXVI(7), M 37, N 353,
 Q 753, S 295, T 292, U 341, Bu ston 377
 **Pañcasikkhā-ānisamsa-sutta*
 Translated by Feer, *AMG* V 230–43.
 This text consists of two parts, labelled here 1.7.A and 1.7.B.

- 1.7.A. D 271a1–b3
Samajivin, A II 61,15–62,11²

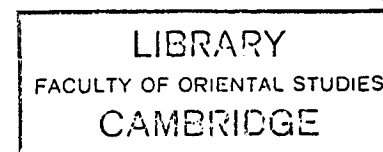
The Tibetan opens with *'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na / bcom ldan 'das garga ra dan / chu srin byis pa gsod kyi ri dan / sman gyi nags ri dags rgyu ba'i gnas na bzuḡs so*. In order to understand this, we must first compare the Pāli: *ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā bhaggesu viharati suṃsumāragire bhesakalāvane migadāye*: “At one time the Lord was staying among the Bhaggas, at Mt. Suṃsumāra, in the Bhesakalā Grove, in the Deer Park”.³ The Tibetan terms correspond to the Pāli as follows:

<i>gargara</i>	(transliteration)	<i>bhagga</i>
<i>chu srin byis pa gsod kyi ri</i>	* <i>suṃsumāramakaragiri</i>	<i>suṃsumāragiri</i>
<i>sman gyi nags</i>	* <i>bhesajja-vana</i>	<i>bhesakalāvana</i>
<i>ri dags rgyu ba'i gnas</i>	* <i>migadāva</i>	<i>migadāya</i>

¹ The colophons to D (276a4), L (132a1), N (584b3), and S (143a3) and the final collective colophon to CDQ give the title as *Tshul khrims lña'i phan yon bstan pa'i mdo = *Pañcaśīlānuśamsa-sūtra*. See also Beckh p. 12, note 1. This might be the correct title.

² The title is from the *uddāna*, A II 65,23, *dve ... samajivino*.

³ For these toponyms, see *DPPN* II 1172–73.



There is a fair correspondence for all but the first, the transcription *gargara* equivalent to the Pāli *bhagga*. The text itself corresponds to the Pāli closely, giving a prose introduction followed by verses:

D 271a1–b1	(prose) = A II 61,15–62,5	(prose)
D 271b1–3	(verse) = A II 62,6*–11*	(verse)

In the prose of both versions, the Buddha, donning his outer robe (*chos gos = cīvara*) and carrying his alms-bowl (*lhuñ bzed = patta*) goes in the morning to the home of the householder “Father Nakula” (*Pha na ku la’i khyim bdag = Nakulapitā gahapati*). There he is addressed first by Nakulapitā, and then by the latter’s wife, “Mother Nakula” (*Ma na ku la’i khyim bdag mo = Nakulamātā gahapatānī*).¹ The gist of their statements is the same in the two versions (there are clearly problems with the Tibetan translation): they have been faithful ever since they were brought together, and they wish to see each other in future lives just as they do at present. The Tibetan then gives the phrase, *de nas bcom ldan ’das kyis bka’ stsal pa*, “Then the Lord spoke”, not found in the Pāli. The Buddha’s reply (271a7) is that such is possible, if a couple is “equal in faith, equal in virtue, equal in giving, and equal in wisdom”. Here the terms correspond directly:

<i>dad pa mñam pa</i>	= <i>samasaddhā</i>
<i>tshul khrims mñam pa</i>	= <i>samaśīla</i>
<i>gtoñ ba mñam pa</i>	= <i>samacāga</i>
<i>śes rab mñam pa</i>	= <i>samapaññā</i>

¹ For this couple, renowned for their mutual devotion, see *DPPN* II 3–4. Nakula(-pitṛ) figures in the Chinese *Ekottarāgama*: see *BSR* 7/1–2 (1990), pp. 86–89 (parallel to *S* III 1–5).

The Buddha then addresses the couple in verse. Here the Tibetan (271b1) introduces the verse with the phrase, *yañ tshigs su bcaḍ pa ’di bka’ stsal te*, “then [the Buddha] uttered these verses”, not found in the Pāli. The verses are similar.

1.7.B. D 271b3–276a5
No Pāli parallel traced.

The Pāli sutta ends with the verses. The Tibetan continues, with the Buddha speaking in prose:

“Therefore, you should guard the five types of training (*bslab pa = sikkhā*):

- 1) refraining from killing living beings;
- 2) refraining from theft;
- 3) refraining from sexual misconduct;
- 4) refraining from false speech;
- 5) refraining from drinking intoxicating beverages.”

These are of course the five precepts, which give their title to the Tibetan version. The monks, who have not been previously mentioned, ask the Buddha about the benefits (*phan yon = ānisaṃsa*) of the five virtues (*tshul khrims = sīla*) (271b4). The Buddha addresses the monks (271b6): “The killing of living beings should be regarded as like a poisonous snake: bound up with many sufferings, leading to rebirth among *petas*, animals, and hell-beings”. He then describes the sufferings of the Sañjīva Hell (*yañ sros*).¹ If the person is reborn as a human being, he will be short-lived, unattractive, and unintelligent. The section contains a verse of four lines on the faults (*ñes pa = dosa*) of killing (272a4), and verses on the twenty benefits (*yon tan = guṇa*) of refraining from killing (272a4–7).

¹ cf. *DPPN* II 1001.

The second section (272b1 foll.), on theft, describes rebirth in the Roruva Hell (*nu 'bod*), which is of two types: Jālaroruva (*'bar ba'i nu 'bod*) and Dhūmaroruva (*du ba'i nu 'bod*).¹ If the person is reborn as a human, as a result of his previous theft he will lose his possessions, and have difficulty in obtaining the necessities of existence. "Theft is like a poisonous serpent" The section contains a verse of four lines on the faults of theft (272b7), and verses on the twenty benefits of refraining from theft (273a1–4).

The third section (273a4 foll.) deals with sexual misconduct, which leads to rebirth in the Mahāroruva Hell (*nu 'bod chen po*),² of which the torments are described in prose and verse (273b2). "Sexual misconduct, monks, is like a poisonous serpent" The section contains a verse of four lines on the faults of sexual misconduct (273b4), and verses on the twenty benefits of refraining from sexual misconduct (273b7–274a3).

The fourth section (274b1 foll.) deals with lying, which leads to the Kālasutta Hell (*thig nag*),³ of which the torments are described. "Lying, monks, is like a poisonous serpent..." The results if the sinner is reborn as a human are described (274b4). A verse of four lines describes the faults of lying (274b6), while thirty-three benefits of refraining from lying are given in verse (274b6–275a2).

The fifth and last section (275a6 foll.) deals with intoxication, which leads to the Tapanā Hell (*tsha ba'i dmyal ba*).⁴ The results if the person is reborn as a human are described (275b3). The section contains

¹ cf. DPPN II 758–59.

² cf. DPPN II 550.

³ cf. DPPN I 580.

⁴ cf. DPPN I 991.

a four-line verse on the faults of drink (275b4), and verses on the thirty-six benefits of refraining from drink (275b5–276a1).

In conclusion (276a2), the Buddha states, "These five virtues (*tshul khrims = sila*) should be guarded: a man or a woman who does not guard or develop virtue will, at the breaking up of the body, after death, be reborn in the evil destinies, the evil realms, the downfall; those who guard and cultivate virtue will, at the breaking up of the body, after death, be reborn in the happy realms, the heavens, the worlds of the gods". The sutta closes with the stock ending, "Thus spoke the Lord; the monks applauded the Lord's teaching". No mention is made of the devoted Nakulas.

The second part of the sutta, which gives the text its title, has no counterpart in the Pāli canon. The five sections on the five transgressions and their opposites have a similar structure: description of the allotted hell; description of the results if the sinner is reborn as a human; comparison of the transgression to a poisonous snake; a verse of four lines on the faults of the transgression; and verses on the many benefits of its opposite. The style of both prose and verse is late, and may be compared with that of cosmological texts such as the *Lokapaññatti*.

1.8. *Giri-ānanda-sūtra / Ri'i kun dga' bo'i mdo*¹

Sūtra for Giri Ānanda

D 38, 276a5–279a2 (5 folio pages +)

B (40).20, C 1021, H 39, J 33, L XXXVI(8), M 38, N 354,

Q 754, S 296, T 293, U 342, Bu ston 369

¹ The title given in the colophons at D 279a1, L 135b4, N 588b6, and S 147a6, and in the final collective colophon in CDQ is *Tshe dan ldan pa* (DQ: *pa'i C*) *ri'i kun dga' bo'i mdo* = Pāli **Āyasmā-giri-ānanda-sutta*.

Giri, A V 108,18–112,18, *Girimānanda-sutta*, *Maha Pirit Pota* 20¹

Translated by Feer, *AMG V* 145–50.

Tibetan, Pāli: spoken by the Buddha at Sāvathī in the Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍika's Pleasance, to Ānanda.

The Tibetan lists and then deals in detail with the same ten notions ('*du śes bcu*, *dasa saññā*) as does the Pāli. The sixth notion, '*dod chags dan bral ba'i 'du śes = virāgasaññā*', is incomplete in the Derge, London, Narthang, Peking, and Stog versions, and merges with the seventh, '*gog pa'i 'du śes = nirodhasaññā*'.² At D 276b1, the Tibetan adds *de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis tshe dan ldan pa kun dga' bo la bka' stsal pa* = "Then the Lord said to venerable Ānanda", not found in the Pāli. In the description of "notion of the unpleasant" (*mi gtsaṅ ba'i 'du śes = asubhasaññā*), reference is made to "the thirty-two impure items" (277a3, *mi gtsaṅ ba'i rdzas sum cu rtsa gñis = *dvattimsa-asubhavatthu*); this is not found in the Pāli.

1.9. *Nandopanandanāgarājadamana-sūtra* / *Klu'i rgyal po dga' bo ñer dga' 'dul ba'i mdo*³

Sūtra on the Vanquishing of the Serpent King Nandopananda
D 39, 279a2–281b1 (5 folio pages)

B (40).21, C 1022, H 40, J 34, L XXXVI(15), M 39, N 355,
Q 755, S 303, T 300, U 349, Bu ston 370

¹ The A title is from the *uddāna*, 112,22.

² D 277b4–5; L 134a1–3; N 586b7–587a2; Q 294b1–3; S 145b1–3. Since the lacuna occurs in representatives of both Them spaṅs ma (LNS) and Tshal pa (DQ), it almost certainly occurs in other known editions.

³ The final collective colophon in CDQ reads ... *dga' bo dan ñer* (DQ: *ñe C*) *dga' ...*; LNS read as above (but *ñer LN*, *ñe S*).

**Nandopanānāgarājadamana-sutta*, *Visuddhimagga XII* § 106–16; *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* (PTS edition) III 177,4–179,20

Translated by Feer, *AMG V* 414–19.

Occurs at Sāvathī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍika's Pleasance.

The account of Mahāmoggallāna's taming (*damana*) of the powerful Nāga Nandopananda by means of a dramatic magical contest is not found in the Theravādin *Tipiṭaka*. It is related in almost identical terms in the *Visuddhimagga* and in the *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā*; in both cases it is given as a citation, without naming the exact source, although the *event* is described in both texts as *Nandopanandadamana*.¹ A Sinhalese version, also very similar, is found in the fourteenth chapter of the *Amāvatura*, a life of the Buddha composed by Guruḷugōmī at about the end of the 12th century.² There is also a Chinese parallel, styled *sūtra* (*ching*) in the title, in an early (pre-Buddhaghosa) translation: the *Lung wang hsiung ti ching*, translated between 223 and 253 A.C.³

¹ *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* III 177,3, 179,19; *Visuddhimagga* (Harvard Oriental Series) 338,5.

² cf. C.E. Godakumbara, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, pp. 56–61, 49–50 (date of author); cf. translation in Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, repr. Varanasi 1967, pp. 302–3 (from the *Pūjāvaliya*, according to note on p. 141). Feer, pp. 414–15, mentions a parallel in the anthology *Sārasaṅgraha*, composed at the end of the 13th or early 14th century (K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 173).

³ Taishō 597; *KBC* no. 780. I am grateful to Prof. Heinz Bechert for this reference. For the translator, Chih-ch'ien, see Étienne Lamotte, *La concentration de la marche héroïque (Sūraṅgamasamādhisūtra)*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 76–79; Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine I*, Paris, 1927, pp. 283–300 (Tche-k'ien); E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 48–51.

The Tibetan is described as a *sūtra* in the title, and indeed opens with the traditional formula, “Thus I once heard: the Lord was staying at Sāvathī”, and closes with the traditional formula, “Thus spoke the Lord; those monks applauded the Lord’s teaching”. The latter, however, is hardly apt, since the text contains no sermon as such, and since the last words are spoken by Anāthapiṇḍika, who offers to provide the Buddha and the monks with food for seven days. Otherwise, the Tibetan, which in this case is quite clearly rendered and relatively free of error, corresponds almost exactly to the *Visuddhimagga* and *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* accounts.

Reference is made to the vanquishing of Nandopananda in the *Jayamaṅgalagāthā*, a popular non-canonical *paritta* that invokes protection through eight victories. The *Ṭikābhūṃ*, a commentary on the verses, therefore includes the account of the vanquishing of the *Nāga* king.¹ I have not come across any references to the *Nandopanandadamana* as an independent sutta in the various catalogues of Pāli manuscripts that I have consulted.² The tale is popular in Burma, where it is represented pictorially by Nandopananda and Mahāmoggallāna in the form of *nāgas* coiled around Mt. Sumeru.

¹ C.E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts*, Copenhagen, 1983, pp. 42–46. A summary (in Thai) from a Thai manuscript is given in Supaphan 1990, p. 308.

² Supaphan (1990) describes the text as *-sutta*, a Thai translation by Nāgapradīpa, *Ṭikā-jayamaṅgala-aṭṭhaka-desanā (Bāhūṃ)*, Bangkok, 2470 [1927], repr. 2520 [1977], pp. 160–81, as *-sūtra*. Godakumbura, *op. cit.*, p. 43, refers to *Nandopanandanāgarājasutta* in his list of contents of the *Ṭikā-bāhūni*, but transcribes the title as *Nandopanandanāgarāja* (sic) only on p. 45.

- 1.10. *Mahākāśyapa-sūtra* / 'Od sruṅ chen po'i mdo¹
Sūtra on Mahākāśyapa
 D 40, 281b1–282a6 (–2 folios)
 B (40).22, C 1023, H 41, J 35, L XXXVI(16), M 40, N 356,
 Q 756, S 394, T 301, U 350, Bu ston 371
 S V 79,18–80,18, *Gilāna*;² *Maha Pirit Pota* 17,
Mahākassapatherabojjhaṅgam
 Translated by Feer, *AMG V* 150–52.

Tibetan, Pāli: spoken at Rājagaha, Veḷuvana, Kalandakanivāpa.

The Tibetan gives the text in full, without abbreviation; the Pāli of the PTS and *Maha Pirit Pota* editions is abbreviated. The two versions are very close. The Tibetan (281b4) adds one phrase not found in Pāli (cf. S V 80,1): *de nas tshe daṅ ldan pa 'od sruṅ chen pos gsol pa*, “Venerable Mahākassapa then said”.

- 1.11. *Sūrya-sūtra* / Ṇi ma'i mdo
Sūtra on the Sun
 D 41, 282a6–b6 (1 folio page)
 B (40).23, C 1024, H 42, J 36, L XXXVI(17), M 41, N 357,
 Q 757, S 305, T 302, U 351, Bu ston 372
 S I 51, 1–24, *Suriya-sutta*; *Maha Pirit Pota* 15, *Suriyaparitta*

Tibetan, Pāli: spoken at Sāvathī in the Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Pleasance.

The Tibetan and the *Maha Pirit Pota* give the Sāvathī *nidāna* in full; in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (PTS) there is no *nidāna*. Where the Pāli, in

¹ The colophons to DLNS and the final collective colophon in CDQ give the title as *gNas brtan 'od sruṅ chen po'i mdo* = Pāli **Mahākassapathera-sutta*.

² The title is from the *uddāna*, p. 83,4, *gilāna apare tayo*.

both this and the following sutta, has *bhagavantam anussaramāno* only, the Tibetan of this and the following text (*Ñi ma* 282b1; *Zla ba* 283a1) have *bcom ldan 'das rjes su dran pa yid la byas te*, which seems to translate *bhagavantam anussaramāno manasikaronto*. The Tibetan introduces the last verse with *des smras pa*, “he [Rāhu] said”. An equivalent phrase is not found in Pāli. Otherwise the prose and verse of the two versions is similar.

1.12. *Candra-sūtra / Zla ba'i mdo*

Sūtra on the Moon

D 42, 282b6–283a5 (1 folio page)

B (40).24, C 1025, H 43, J 37, L XXXVI(18), M 42, N 358, Q 758, S 306, T 303, U 352, Bu ston *deest*

S I 50,15–35, *Candima-sutta*; *Maha Pirit Pota* 14, *Candaparitta*
Translated by Feer, *AMG V* 410–13, conjointly with the Pāli, side-by-side with a translation of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin version.

[The *Kanjur* also contains an anonymous translation of a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin recension: *Candra-sūtra / Zla ba'i mdo*, Q 997, Vol. 39, *mdo sna tshogs, śu* 268a2–b3. A fragmentary (probably) Sarvāstivādin recension from Central Asia was published by E. Waldschmidt, “Buddha Frees the Disc of the Moon”, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS)*, XXXIII/1, 1970, pp. 179–83 (cf. p. 179 notes 2 and 3 for a full bibliographic account of Feer’s work). The verses of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin version are incorporated into one of the *Pañcarakṣā* texts in Tibetan translation, *Mahāmantrānudharani*, D 536, 154b4–7: cf. Skilling 1992, p. 142.]

The Tibetan and the *Maha Pirit Pota* give the *Sāvattī nidāna* in full; the *Samyutta Nikāya* (PTS) abbreviates it as *Sāvattīhiyaṃ viharati*. The Tibetan (283a5) introduces the last verse with *sgra can 'dzin gyis*

smras pa, **rāhu āha*. An equivalent phrase is not found in the Pāli. Otherwise the Tibetan and Pāli are similar.

In Pāli, the *Suriya-* and *Candima-suttas* are identical, but for the substitution of *suriya / candima* where appropriate and the addition of one extra verse in the *Suriya-sutta*; similarly, in Tibetan the *Sūrya-* and *Candra-sūtras* are identical, but for the substitution of *ñi ma = suriya / zla ba = canda*, and the addition of the extra verse. Chizen Akanuma, *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas & Pāli Nikāyas* (Nagoya, 1929, p. 178), lists Chinese parallels for the Pāli *Candima-sutta* but not for the *Suriya-sutta*. Thus while the former is well represented in the versions of at least two schools (the Theravādins and the [Mūla-]Sarvāstivādins), the latter is not, and may be unique to the Theravādins.

1.13. *Mahāmaṅgala-sūtra / bKra śis chen po'i mdo*

Sūtra on the Great Blessing

D 43, 283a5–284a1 (1 folio page +)

B (40).25, C 1026, H 44, J 38, L XXXVI(19), M 43, M 360,¹ N 359, Q 759, S 307, T 304, U 353, Bu ston 373

Khuddakapāṭha V, pp. 2,25–3,26, *Maṅgala-sutta*; Sn pp. 46,10–47,22, *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta*; *Maha Pirit Pota* 7, *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta*

Translated by Feer, *AMG V* 224–27.

[The *Kanjur* contains an anonymous translation of a recension of another, unknown school: *Lhas zus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa / Devapariprcchā Maṅgalagāthā*, Q 442 (*rgyud tsha*), Q 721 (*rgyud ya*),

¹ In the Urga edition only, the text (as M 360) closes the Sūtra Division of the *Kanjur* (cf. Bethlenfalvy 1980, Introduction, p. 12). The colophon is the same as for M 31–43, with the addition of *bu ston phab pa'o*, “edited by Bu ston”. This remark is not found in any of the other editions.

Q 1053 (*'dul ba phe*). This was translated by Feer side-by-side with the present text, under the rubric "Version du Nord".]

Tibetan, Pāli: located at Sāvathī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍika's Pleasance.

The prose opening is the same, except that for the Pāli *aññatarā devatā*, "a certain deity", singular, the Tibetan has *lha du ma rnams*, "many deities", plural. Both versions open with a verse question spoken by the god(s), asking about blessings (*maṅgala*). Before the first verse of the Buddha's reply (*Suttanipāta* 259), the Tibetan gives an extra verse (283b1), not found in the Pāli:

lha'i yan lha yis bka' stsal pa ||
sdig pa thams cad rnam par 'joms ||
'jig rten kun la phan pa'i don ||
bkra śis de rnams khyed la bsad ||

The god of gods (*devātideva*) [the Buddha] replied:
 "I will teach you those blessings (*maṅgala*)
 which overcome all evil (*sabbapāpa*)
 and bring benefit (*hita*) to all the world (*loka*)".

Otherwise the eleven verses spoken by the Buddha are the same and occur in the same order, with, as usual, many problems of translation. The Tibetan (283b7) ends with, "Thus spoke the Lord; those gods applauded the Lord's teaching". The ending is not given in the Pāli. The other Tibetan version, the *Devaparipṛcchā Maṅgalagāthā*, is a recension of another school, and hence differs in order and number of verses.

- 1.14. *Ārya-maitrī-sūtra-nāma* / *'Phags pa byams pa'i mdo zes bya ba*
Sūtra on Holy Maitreya (or) *Holy Sūtra on Maitreya*
 Q 1010, *mdo, hu* 304a5–311b3 (15 folio pages, excluding colophon)

The *Ārya-maitrī-sūtra* was translated by Ānandaśrī and Kunga' rgyal mtshan Thub bstan dpal bzañ po at Sa skya in the year 1307 (see above). As far as I have been able to determine, it is available in only four of the *Kanjurs* used for this study:¹

Berlin	(82).4	Vol. 82	<i>mdo a</i> (30), no. 4
Lhasa	349	Vol. 74	<i>mdo sa</i> (28), no. 3
Narhang	328	Vol. 74	<i>mdo sa</i> (28), no. 3
Peking	1010	Vol. 91	<i>mdo hu</i> (30), no. 4

The text is not listed in Bu ston's catalogue. As seen above, it is closely related to 1.5, and has at least a partial parallel in the Pāli *Metteyya-sutta*. The first modern note of the sūtra was made by Csoma de Kőrös in his "Analysis of the Mdo", published in *Asiatick Researches* (Calcutta, 1836–39) in the form of a generally accurate summary. The text was referred to by Sylvain Lévi along with 1.5.² There is also a Mongolian translation.³

Numbers 1.1. to 1.14: General remarks

Nos. 1.1–13 all open with *'phags pa dkon mchog gsum la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo*, 1.14 with *dkon mchog gsum la gus par phyag 'tshal lo*, "I respectfully pay homage to the (Holy) Three Gems (*ariya-*

¹ cf. Haahr 1962, p. 205; Takasaki 1965, p. 31.

² Lévi 1932, pp. 377–80.

³ Ligeti § 1105 = Vol. 90 = *mdo (eldeb)* XXXI, no. 4.

tiratana)".¹ They seem to be the only texts in the *Kanjur* to do so, the usual formula of homage for sūtras being *dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo = namo ratnatrayāya*. Numbers 1.1–1.7 in the Derge edition and numbers 1.2–7 and 1.9–13 in the London, Narthang, and Stog Palace editions end with a short *praṇidhāna*, not found at all in the Peking edition, *sa'i steṅ du ṅi (ma daṅ) zla (ba) ltaṅ gyur cig*, "May the surface of the earth be like the sun and moon", also not met with elsewhere in the *Kanjur*.²

I hope in the foregoing to have established that all fourteen texts belong to the Theravādin school. For those texts which have no known counterpart in the canons of other schools, I have tried to show the similarity between the Tibetan and Pāli versions. For those texts that have such a counterpart, I have mentioned the differences between the versions by way of contrast.

Nine out of the 13 texts (nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13) are included in *paritta* collections such as the *Maha Pirit Pota*. Since number 6 comprises two *parittas*, ten Pāli *parittas* are in fact represented. (Feer was presumably the first to recognize their relationship to *paritta*, which is also noted in the Otani catalogue, p. 94, note) Three texts — the *Jātakanidāna* and the two versions of the **Metteyyasutta* — deal extensively with the past lives and final life of the Buddha of the present age, Sakyamuni, and with the future Buddha, Metteyya, respectively; together they constitute a complete Theravādin Buddhism. It is unlikely that either of these, or the *Pañcaśikṣānuśaṃsa-sūtra*, were classed as *paritta*; the first part of the latter, the *Samajīvin* (1.7.A) is not classed as such by the Theravādins. The *Jātakanidāna* is precluded by its length, while the other two do not have the characteristics of *paritta* (note, however, that the "*Buddhavaṃsa-sutta*" was chanted to bring rain in the

¹ This was noted by Beckh (1914), p. 13, note 1.

² The information for Stog is from Skorupski 1985, pp. 158–60.

Shan state of Jengtung in the 14th and 15th centuries¹). They may have been selected for translation on the basis of popularity, since the life of the Buddha was perennially popular, and the Metteyya cult and cosmological (the latter and main part of the *Pañcaśikṣānuśaṃsa*) texts were popular at the time in question. The *Nandopanandadamana*, though composed in rather unwieldy prose, might have had *paritta* status, since Mahāmoggallāna's taming of the Nāga King is one of the "eight victories" of the *Jayamaṅgalagāthā*.²

Only two of the fourteen texts are popular among Tibetans today. These are the *Sūrya-sūtra* (1.11) and the *Candra-sūtra* (1.12), which are included in popular collections of *mantras* and *rakṣās* such as the *mDo maṅ*.³ Here the Theravādin version of the *Candra-sūtra* is chosen over the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin version, also found in Tibetan translation. The same two are popular in Theravādin countries, being included in the *Maha Pirit Pota* (nos. 15 and 14) of Ceylon and in the *Catubhānavāra* collections.⁴

A considerable portion of one text, the *Pañcaśikṣānuśaṃsa*, has not been traced in Pāli; all the others are available in Pāli (assuming that the **Metteyya-sutta* [1.5, 1.14] does correspond to a Pāli text of the same name).

¹ Sao Sāimōng Mangrāi, *The Pāḍaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated*, Ann Arbor, 1981, Pāḍaeng §§ 194–95, Jengtung § 112.

² *Maha Pirit Pota*, p. xlii, verse 7.

³ Marcelle Lalou, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, quatrième partie, I.—Les Mdo Maṅ, Paris, 1931, nos. 117, 118 (pp. 46–47); R.O. Meisezahl, "Über Zwei Mdo Maṅ Redaktionen und Ihre Editionen in Tibet und China", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 2, Wiesbaden, 1968, p. 36 (LXIV.tu 111, 112); p. 96 (LXIV.tu 139, 140); p. 107 (LXIV.tu 138, 139); p. 121 (LXIV.tu 110, 111); Concordance, 7a, nos. 176, 177.

⁴ For the latter, see Skilling 1992, pp. 118–20.

Under the individual sūtras I have noted a few discrepancies between the Tibetan and Pāli versions. Some, such as the supplying of a complete opening (*nidāna*) in the Tibetan against an abbreviated or omitted opening in the Pāli sutta versions are only to be expected: in the sutta versions the opening occurs earlier on in the collection; as independent texts, the Tibetan versions give the complete *nidānas*, as do the Pāli *paritta* versions. Other discrepancies such as the introduction of a phrase “so and so said” are relatively minor redactional variants.

All of the fourteen texts show many problems of translation, some of which have been mentioned above. A few further examples:

- 1.1. (D 183a2) *bag yod par gyur*, **appamādo*, “heedful” = S V 424,5 *appamāno*, “limitless”;
- 1.3. (D 250b1) *sñiñ po dañ sñiñ po med pa'i gtaṃ*, **kathaṃ sārāsāraṇīyaṃ* (?) = D III 194,14 *kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ*;
- 1.3. (D 253a3, etc.) *drañ sroñ chen po*, Skt. *mahārṣi*, Pāli *mahesi* = D III 203,1, etc. *mārisa*, “sir”;
- 1.8. (D 277b2) *mi bsgom par 'gro ba*, **anabhāvanam gacchati*, “is not cultivated” = A V 110,16 *anabhāvaṃ gameti*, “disappears”;
- 1.8. (D 277a1 etc.) *dge sloñ kun dga' bo 'di ni* “Bhikkhu Ānanda, this...” = A V 109,19, etc. *idh' ānanda bhikkhu*, “Here, Ānanda, a monk ...”;
- 1.11. (D 282b1), 1.12.(D 283a1): *thams cad myur du grol bar gyis* = S I 50,20– 51,5 *vippamutto si sabbadhi*; since *myur du* corresponds to Sanskrit *kṣipra*, Pāli *kippa*, the Tibetan seems to translate **kippamutto*.

Many more examples could be cited. At a few places, transliterated letters suggest Sanskrit forms:

- 1.3. (D 252b2) *lcañ lo can dañ ku śa'i groñ || pha rol ku śa'i groñ dañ ni || nāṭa'i groñ dañ pha rol gyi || ku śi ta'i groñ yin no ||* = D III 200,24, *ātānāṭā*, *kusināṭā*, *parakusināṭā*, *nāṭapuriyā*, *parakusitanāṭā*.
- 1.8. (D 277a6) *bitsartsika*, (Q 294a4) *bi tsar rtsi ka* = Sanskrit *vicarcika*; A V 110,6 *vitacchikā*.

Mistranslations can arise from a correct translation of a faulty Indic original, or a wrong translation of a correct Indic original. In the present case, let us suppose that the manuscripts were in Pāli in Sinhalese script, and that Ānandaśrī did not know Tibetan nor Ñi ma rgyal mtshan Pāli or the Sinhalese script. Since the latter had spent fourteen years in Nepal, and since the former is said to have resided in Bodhi Gayā (and at any rate would have travelled through Northern India and perhaps Nepal to reach Tibet), they may well have communicated in a mixture of Sanskrit and the North Indian *lingua franca* of the day. This could have given rise to both the mistranslations and the Sanskrit forms. A thorough analysis of the Tibetan versions in comparison with the Pāli might reveal whether the mistranslations arose from a Sanskrit or a Pāli text, or even whether the original was in the Sinhalese script, if it can be shown that the mistranslation was caused by a misreading of that script.

1.15. *Vimuttimaggā*, Chapter 3: *Dhutagaṇa-nirdeśa*
Vimuktimārga-dhutagaṇa-nirdeśa-nāma / *rNam par grol ba'i lam las sbyaṅs ba'i yon tan bstan pa zes bya ba*

A. Included in the *Kanjur*

A.1.	Following the arrangement of the Tshal pa <i>Kanjur</i> :	
Berlin	(80).6	Vol. 80 <i>mdo sa</i> (28), no. 6
Cone	945	Vol. 52 <i>mdo sa</i> (28), no. 6
Derge	306	Vol. 72 <i>mdo sa</i> (28), no. 6
Lhasa	309	Vol. 72 <i>mdo la</i> (26), no. 6

Lithang	246	Vol. 67	<i>mdo sa</i> (28), no. 6
Narhang	291	Vol. 72	<i>mdo la</i> (26), no. 6
Peking	972	Vol. 89	<i>mdo su</i> (28), no. 6
Urga	306	Vol. 72	<i>mdo sa</i> (28), no. 6

A.2. Following the arrangement of the Them spangs ma
Kanjur:

London	XXV(2)	Vol. 50	<i>mdo ra</i> (25), no. 2
Stog	244	Vol. 76	<i>mdo ra</i> (25), no. 2
Tokyo	244	Vol. 81	<i>mdo ra</i> (25), no. 2
Ulan Bator	292	Vol. 78	<i>mdo ra</i> (25), no. 2
JB	—	—	<i>mdo ra</i> (25), no. 2
JP	—	—	<i>mdo ra</i> (25), no. 2

A.3. Phug brag *Kanjur*:

Phug brag	206	Vol. 82	<i>mdo sa</i> (29), no. 6 ¹
Phug brag	327	Vol. 89	<i>mdo khu</i> (36), no. 15

A.4. Newark *Kanjur*:

Newark	—	—	<i>mdo ra</i> (25), no. 5 ²
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A.5. According to Bu ston's *History of Buddhism*:

Bu ston	40		
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¹ *sa* is Vol. 29 because two volumes are labelled *ra*. Although the text is *sa* no. 6 in most of the Tshal pa *Kanjurs* as well, this is a coincidence: apart from the first text (the *Abhiniskramaṇa-sūtra*), the contents of volumes *sa* in the Tshal pa and Phug brag *Kanjurs* are otherwise different.

² The last text in the volume: information from the table of contents at the end of Vol. *ra*, which should be Vol. 25 of the *Sūtra* section, if there were no irregularities in numbering of volumes.

B. Included in the *Tanjur*:

Cone	—	—	' <i>dul ba su</i> ¹
Derge	4143	Vol. 167	' <i>dul ba su</i>
Golden	—	Vol. 178 ²	' <i>dul ba u</i>
Narhang	3635	Vol. 178	' <i>dul ba u</i>
Peking	5644	Vol. 178	' <i>dul ba u</i>

The lists show that the text is no. 6 of the 28th volume of *Sūtra* (*mDo*) in the Tshal pa tradition, except for in N and (following N) H, in which it is in the 26th volume. The Mongolian translation (Ligeti § 1066) is no. 6 of the 29th volume of *Sūtra*. The text is no. 2 of the 25th volume of *Sūtra* in the Them spangs ma tradition. The work occurs twice in the unique Phug brag *Kanjur*; although attributed to the same translators, the two translations differ.³ This is interesting in the light of Bu ston's remarks about the existence of an earlier translation not accessible to him (see below). In the Newark *Kanjur* it is the last text of volume *ra*. In the *Tanjur* it is classed under *Vinaya* ('*Dul ba*'), in the last volume.

The Tibetan text has been edited on the basis of four editions (BCDN) in the Devanāgarī and roman scripts and translated into English by P.V. Bapat, who also discusses the relations between the Tibetan, the *Vimuttimaggā* in Chinese translation, and the Pāli *Visuddhimaggā*.⁴ A romanized edition with Japanese translation and extensive notes has been published by Genjun H. Sasaki.⁵

¹ Folios 161b2–172b7.

² Reprint Vol. 79: see P. Skilling, "A Brief Guide to the *Golden Tanjur*", *JSS* 79/2 (1991), pp. 138–46.

³ Samten 1992, p. xviii.

⁴ P.V. Bapat, *Vimuktimārga Dhutaṅganirdeśa*, Bombay, 1964.

⁵ Genjun H. Sasaki, *Vimuktimārga Dhutaṅganirdeśa*, Kyoto, 1958, based on HNQ, and several other editions not clear to me.

This text, a chapter of the *Vimuttimagga*¹ dealing with the 13 purifying practices (*dhutaṅga* or *dhutaṅga*),² was translated into Tibetan by the Indian preceptor (*upadhyāya*) Vidyākaraṇa and the Tibetan translator dPal brtsegs, well-known scholars active around 800 A.C. The colophon states:³

*rnam par grol ba'i lam las sbyaṅs pa'i yon tan bstan pa zes
bya ba ste kun nas btus pa gsum pa rdzogs so ||*

“The Exposition of Purifying Virtues” (*Dhutagaṇanirdeśa*) from the *Path of Liberation* (*Vimuktimārga*), Chapter 3, is completed.⁴

Here (as in the translation of the title) the compound Sanskrit title *Vimuktimārga-dhutaṅga-nirdeśa*, which shows no case endings, has been rendered as “Exposition of Purifying Virtues from (*las*) the

¹ The complete *Vimuttimagga* is extant only in Chinese translation (Taishō 1648, KBC 968). It has been rendered into English by Ehara *et al.* ([1961] 1977). For a recent note on the *Vimuttimagga*, see H. Bechert, “Vimuttimagga and Amatākaraṇaṇā”, in N.H. Samtani and H.S. Prasad (ed.), *Amalā Prajñā: Aspects of Buddhist Studies (Professor P.V. Bapat Felicitation Volume)*, Delhi, 1989, p. 11. For discussion of the school affiliation of the *Vimuttimagga*, see K.R. Norman, “The Literary Works of the Abhayagirivihārins”, in V.N. Jha (ed.), *Kalyāṇa-mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1991, pp. 41–50, and P. Skilling, “*Vimuttimagga* and Abhayagiri: The Form-aggregate according to the *Saṃskṛtāsāṃskṛta-viniścaya*” (forthcoming).

² For these see BHSD 285b, *dhuta*, *dhutaṅga*, *dhutadharmā*; PTSD 342a, *dhuta*; EB IV/4 580–85 (“*Dhutaṅga*”).

³ S 244, Skorupski, p. 139; Q 972, *mdo*, *śu*, 149a2; Newark, *mdo*, *ra*, 249b6. The Newark *Kanjur* lacks the translators’ colophon. A cursory examination of the last folio (*ra* 249b) suggests that it is the same translation.

⁴ *Kun nas btus pa*, which I have taken here in the sense of chapter, is equivalent to the Sanskrit *samuccaya*. Since the *Vimuttimagga* is not available in the original, whether Pāli or Sanskrit, I cannot say whether this term was used in the original text.

Path of Liberation”. This shows that the translators knew they were dealing with an excerpt from a work entitled *Vimuktimārga* and not an independent text. Otherwise they would probably have rendered the title as “Exposition of Purifying Virtues of (*gyi*) or perhaps “in” or “in relation to (*la*)¹ the Path of Liberation”, taking the last as a common noun. The chapter in question is indeed the third of the Chinese translation of the *Vimuttimagga*.²

Since the text is in fact a treatise (*śāstra*) and not the word of the Buddha (*Buddhavacana*), its proper place is the *Tanjur* rather than the *Kanjur*. Bu ston (§ 40) classifies the text in Section II (Hīnayāna) of the Word of the Buddha (*bka'*); he notes that “in the great catalogues this is classified as a sūtra, but some hold that it is a *śāstra*” (*'di dkar chag chen mo dag tu mdor byas la kha cig bstan bcos su 'dod*). A similar statement is made in the catalogues of the Derge and Urga *Kanjurs*.³ Bu ston (§ 98) also lists a **Dhutagaṇanirdeśa-sūtra* (*sByaṅs pa'i yon tan bśad pa'i mdo*) in Word of the Buddha, Section III, “Texts unavailable at present but definitely translated in the early period” (*śnar 'gyur nes pa da lta ma rñed pa*).⁴ Under *śāstra* (§ 793) he refers to a **Dhutaṅga-anuśaṃsa* (*sByaṅs pa'i yon tan gyi phan yon*) in 100 *ślokas* composed by Ācārya Nāgārjuna (Slob dpon Klu sgrub) which “should be sought” (*btсал bar bya'o*). I doubt whether the last-named is related to our text.

Why the text was selected for translation is not clear. Since the Indian translator, Vidyākaraṇa, worked on Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya texts such as the *Vinayavastu*, *Kṣudrakavastu*, and *Bhikṣuṇī-*

¹ Some of the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit title read *-mārge*.

² Ehara *et al.* [1961] 1977, pp. 27–38.

³ Derge Catalogue, *Lakṣmī*, 134b4; Bethlenfalvy 1980, p. 76, *'di la 'an kha cig bstan bcos su dogs pa skyes kyaṅ | śhon gyi dkar chag chen mo rnam las mdor bśad pa ñid khuṅs su che'o*.

⁴ The Lithang and Lhasa *Catalogues* and the Urga colophon in fact add *mdo* = *sūtra* to the title.

vinayavibhaṅga, it is unlikely that he was a Sthavira. Perhaps such an exposition of the 13 *dhutaṅga* was lacking in the Mūlasarvāstivādin or other traditions, causing the *Vimuttimagga* chapter to be adopted by other schools.

2. Theravādin texts and tenets in the *Tanjur*

The Theravādin literature in the *Tanjur* occurs in the form of citations within larger works; with the exception of the duplicated *Vimuttimagga*, no independent Theravādin texts are found.

2.1. *Vimuttimagga* in the *Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya*

The most extensive and significant *Tanjur* source for Theravādin tenets is the *Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya* of Daśabalaśrimitra, lost in the original Sanskrit and preserved in Tibetan translation only.¹ In an earlier article I have attempted to show that the author most probably lived in North-eastern India in the 12th or 13th century A.C., and have pointed out that the text is accurately and clearly translated, and that the author's sources, when traceable, are accurately cited.²

Daśabalaśrimitra devotes three full chapters, numbers 13 to 15, to the tenets of the Theravādins; although in each case he names his source as "the tradition (*Āgama*) of the Ārya Sthavira school (Sthavira-nikāya)",³ in all three cases the chapters are direct citations from the *Vimuttimagga*. Two other passages from the same work are also cited by

¹ Stobs bcu dpal bśes gñen, '*Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa*, Peking *Tanjur* 5865, Vol. 146. References in this section are to this edition.

² cf. P. Skilling, "The *Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya* of Daśabalaśrimitra", in *BSR* 4/1 (1987), pp. 3–23.

³ 90b3, '*phags pa gnas brtan pa'i sde pa'i luṅ las 'di ltar rnam par bžag ste*.

Daśabalaśrimitra. The concordance of the citations and the Chinese *Vimuttimagga* (in English translation) is as follows:

1) Daśabalaśrimitra, ch. 13, *gNas brtan pa'i sde pa'i tshul lugs phuṅ po skye mched kham rnam par nes pa*, 90b3–98b7, **Sthaviranikāya-naya-skandhāyatanadhātu-viniścaya*:

"An analysis of the aggregates, bases, and elements according to the Sthavira school", equivalent to *Vimuttimagga*, ch. 11, section 1, pp. 237–59;

2) Daśabalaśrimitra, ch. 14, *gNas brtan pa'i sde pa'i tshul gyi rten ciṅ 'brel bar 'byuṅ ba rnam par nes pa*, 98b7–106a4, **Sthaviranikāya-naya-pratītyasamutpāda-viniścaya*:

"An analysis of dependent arising according to the Sthavira school", equivalent to *Vimuttimagga*, ch. 11, section 1, pp. 259–68;

3) Daśabalaśrimitra, ch. 15, '*Phags pa gnas brtan pa'i sde pa'i tshul lugs las 'phags pa'i bden pa la mkhas pa rnam par nes pa*, 106a4–127a3, **Ārya-sthaviranikāya-naya-āryasatyakauśalya-viniścaya*:

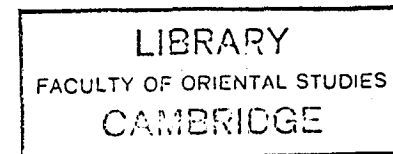
"An analysis of mastery of the Four Truths of the Noble according to the Exalted Sthavira school", equivalent to *Vimuttimagga*, ch. 11, section 2, pp. 269–82 (ch. 12, section 1 omitted), and ch. 12, section 2, pp. 301–26;

4) Daśabalaśrimitra, 177b2–178b4, equivalent to *Vimuttimagga*, p. 6; cf. also p. 10;

5) Daśabalaśrimitra, 179a4–183a1, equivalent to *Vimuttimagga*, ch. 10, pp. 229–36, complete citation.

2.2. Miscellaneous citations in the *Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya*

Daśabalaśrimitra cites the views or interpretations of the Sthaviras in ten other cases:



- 1) the length of the *dhanu*, *kosa*, *gavuti*, and *yojana* (in verse), 18a3–4;
- 2) the sixty-four destructions (*saṃvattani*) of the universe by fire, water, and wind, 24a1–5;
- 3) the maximum life-span is unlimited, 25b6–7;
- 4) the “lesser” and “greater” incalculable aeons (*asamkheyya-kappa*), 37a7–b1;
- 5) the Buddhas revered by Sakyamuni as a bodhisatta during twenty great incalculable aeons plus 100,000 [lesser] aeons; the future Buddha Ajita Metteyya; the three types of individual (*puggala*): predominant in faith, in energy, or wisdom (*saddhādhika*, *viriyādhika*, *paññādhika*), 38a4–40b6;
- 6) the seven precious things (*sattaratana*) of a universal emperor (*cakkavatti*); the ten species of elephant (*hatthikula*); the four species of horse (*assakula*); the six types of universal emperor who go to the heavens (**devalokagāmin*), 41b5–42a5;
- 7) five Buddhas arise in a *bhaddakappa*, 42b5;
- 8) five types of aeon in which Buddhas arise (*sāra*, *maṇḍa*, *vara*, *sāramaṇḍa*, *bhadda*), 43a2–5;
- 9) the five levels of meditation (*jhāna*), 188b8–189a3;
- 10) where Sakyamuni spent the eighty years and *vassas*, 266a8–b7.

2.3. **Buddhavaṃsa* of the Abhayagiri in the *Tarkajvālā*

Bhavya (c. 500–570 ?),¹ in Chapter 4 of his *Tarkajvālā*, *Śrāvakatattvāvatāra*, gives brief citations from various scriptures of 17 schools, in order to demonstrate that in the Śrāvakayāna

¹ For Bhavya and his date, see Ruegg 1981, pp. 61–66. There is some question about the author and date of the *Tarkajvālā* (see Ruegg 1990), which might bring the date forward to the 8th century. This does not affect the authority of the *Tarkajvālā*, which is an extraordinarily learned and encyclopaedic work.

as in the Mahāyāna homage is to be paid to bodhisattvas.¹ The seventh citation is of four verses from the “*Twelve-thousand Lineage of the Buddhas* of the Ārya Sthavira Abhayagirivāsins” (*'Phags pa gnas brtan pa 'jigs med ri la gnas pa rnam kyī saṅs rgyas kyī rigs khri ṅis ston*). The title may be tentatively rendered into Pāli as **Dvādasa-sahassa-buddhavaṃsa*; it is not clear whether “12000” refers to the number of Buddhas or the number of *ślokas*.² The 16 lines of verse, which I have been unable to trace in Pāli, state that a bodhisatta “should be honoured by all the world”.³ The work was translated by Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa) and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba at Lhasa in the first half of the 11th century.

2.4. Parallels to Pāli texts in the *Udānavarga-vivarāṇa*

The *Udānavarga-vivarāṇa*, composed by Prajñāvarman at an uncertain date and preserved in Tibetan translation only (done in the 11th century by Paṇḍita Janārdana and Śākya Blo gros), is a commentary on the *Udānavarga*, the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin counterpart of the Pāli *Dhammapada*. Like the *Dhammapada*, the *Udānavarga* contains only verses; in his commentary, Prajñāvarman states the occasion (*nidāna*) upon which each verse, or set of verses, was spoken. First he gives the “official” *nidāna* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin tradition; in some cases, he

¹ Q 5256, Vol. 96, *dbu ma'i sñiṅ po'i 'grel pa rlog ge 'bar ba, dbu ma, dza: ṅan thos kyī de kho na ṅid la 'jug pa*, 192b2–6; D 3856, *dbu ma, dza*, 177a7–b2.

² I do not know of any texts which describe a group of 12000 Buddhas. The *Sambuddhe* verses, popular in South-east Asia, refer to the late Theravādin figure of 512,028 Buddhas as 28 + 12,000 + 500,000 (*sambuddhe aṭṭhaviṣaṅ ca dvādasāṅ ca saḥassake | pañcasata saḥassāni ...*), but I suspect that the figures are so given for reasons of metre, since related prose texts group the numbers differently. See Peter Skilling, “A Note on the *Sambuddhe* Verses and Later Theravādin Buddhism”, *Journal of the Secretarial Office of His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch*, 1/2 (Jan.–Mar. 1993), pp. 73–85.

³ For an edition and translation of the verses, see P. Skilling, “A Citation from the **Buddhavaṃsa* of the Abhayagiri School”, *JPTS XVIII* (1993), pp. 165–75.

also briefly cites alternate *nidānas*, which he ascribes simply to “others” (*gzan dag*). Some of these alternate *nidānas* are identical or similar to the brief *nidānas* that open the lengthy stories for each verse or set of verses in the *Dhammapada Commentary*. Here I will give four examples from UvViv Chapter XX, *Krodhavarga* (“On Anger”), equivalent to Dhp Chapter XVII, *Kodhavagga*.¹

1) UvViv II 584–85, commenting on Uv XX,1:

The “official” (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *nidāna* states that “a naked ascetic (*nirgrantha*), who rejoiced in non-attachment (*asaṅgarata*), asked the Lord ...”. Prajñāvarman also gives an alternate *nidāna* (584,23):

gzan dag ni nya gro dha'i kun dga' ra ba na rgyal rigs kyi bu mo snar ma zes bya ba las brtsams pa'o zes zer ro ||

Others say that this was spoken at the Nigrodha Pleasance (*ārāma*), with reference to (*ārabha*) a *khattiya* girl named Rohiṇī.

This agrees almost perfectly with Dhp-a III 295,3–5 on Dhp XVII,1:

imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā nigrodhārāme viharanto rohiṇī-nāma-khattiya-kaññaṃ ārabha kathesi.

The Teacher gave this instruction in the dhamma when he was staying at the Nigrodha Pleasance (*ārāma*), with reference to (*ārabha*) a *khattiya* girl named Rohiṇī.

¹ *Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms kyi rnam par 'grel pa* = UvViv. For ease of comparison I have given Pāli equivalents for Tibetan names or terms in the alternate *nidānas*. The material is drawn from my perpetually unfinished paper, “The *Nidānas* of the *Udānavargavivaraṇa*: the *Krodhavarga*”.

2) UvViv II 596–98, commenting on Uv XX,16:

The official *nidāna* states that the verses were spoken at Śrāvastī at the time of dyeing robes, with reference to an old and avaricious monk. The alternate *nidāna* (597,10) states:

gzan dag ni mau dgal gyi bu chen pos zus pa las de'i dbaṅ du mdzad do zes zer ro ||

Others say that this was spoken with reference to a question put by Mahāmoggallāna.

This agrees with Dhp-a III 314,7–9 on Dhp XVII,4 (except that the UvViv does not give the location):

imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto mahāmoggallānattherassa paññaṃ ārabha kathesi.

The Teacher gave this instruction in the dhamma when he was staying in the Jeta Grove, with reference to a question put by the Elder Mahāmoggallāna.

3) UvViv II 600–01, commenting on Uv XX,19:

Official *nidāna*: “A *brāhmaṇa* named *Asurāyana¹ abused the Lord with offensive language (*asabhyā vācā*). Therefore [the Lord] said ...”. Alternate *nidāna* (600,8):

gzan dag ni u da ri zes bya ba'i dge bsñen ma'i khyim du bcom ldan 'das ñan thos kyi tshogs daṅ bcas pa bśos gsol pa byas na dge bsñen ma u da ri las brtsams te 'dī gsuṅs so zes zer ro ||

¹ The name is transliterated in Tibetan as A-su-ra-ya-na.

Others say: when the Lord, together with a group of disciples (*sāvaka-gaṇa*), had been offered a meal at the home (*geha*) of the lay-woman (*upāsikā*) *Udari, he spoke this with reference to the lay woman *Udari.¹

Dhp-a III 302,5–7 on Dhp XVII,3:

*imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā veḷuvane viharanto uttarāya
gehe katabhattakicco uttaraṃ upāsikaṃ ārabha kathesi.*

The Teacher gave this instruction in the dhamma when he was staying in the Bamboo Grove, on having eaten at the home (*geha*) of Uttarā, with reference to the lay woman (*upāsikā*) Uttarā.

4) UvViv II 604,20, commenting on Uv XX,22:

*a gra ta ba ka zes bya ba'i yul na dge sloṅ zig khro ba byuṅ
yaṅ tshig rtsub po mi brjod pa de las brtsams so zes gzan dag
zer ro ||*

Other say this was spoken in the land of *Agratavaka,² with reference to a certain monk who became angry, yet refrained from harsh words (*pāruṣya*).

Dhp-a III 299,13 on Dhp XVII,2 reads as follows:

*imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā aggālave cetiye viharanto
aññataram bhikkhuṃ ārabha kathesi.*

¹ Here too the name is transliterated: U-da-ri.

² The name is again transcribed: A-gra-ta-ba-ka.

The Teacher gave this instruction in the dhamma when he was staying at the Aggālava Shrine, in connection with a certain monk.

The two *nidānas* bear some resemblance if one takes *Agratavaka to equal Aggālava, which is by no means certain. The full Dhp-a story involves a tree-spirit who controls her anger, which initially arises towards a monk who has chopped down the tree in which she lives and accidentally wounded her child. The story does not agree with the UvViv *nidāna*, in which it is the monk himself who controls his anger.

It is noteworthy that formulas similar to the *imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā ... (place) viharanto ... (name)-ārabha kathesi*, which comes at the head of the stories in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, are also used in the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*.¹ It may be that these brief *nidānas* are older than the following commentary: that they could have been shared by several schools of the Sthavira fold, but that the full stories would have differed in style, length, and detail. (Note that the stories of the Dhp-a are non-canonical. They are themselves a condensed Pāli translation of the old Sinhalese version, and a new Sinhalese version, much expanded, was produced by Dharmasena Thera in the 13th century.² The form and detail of narrative literature of this type, which was told and retold over the centuries, should not be taken too seriously as an indication of sectarian affiliation.)

The *Udānavarga-vivarāṇa* contains other material relevant to Pāli studies. Commenting on the second verse of the same chapter (UvViv II 585–86 on Uv XX,2), Prajñāvarman opens his “official *nidāna*” with a verse question spoken by a god (*lha zig gis gsol*

¹ Some random examples are Ja I 123,11–12, 126,14–15, 136,10–11, 276,2–3, 364,2–3; II 248,5–6, 321,8–10.

² cf. Ranjini Obeyesekere (tr.), *Jewels of the Doctrine*, Albany, 1991, pp. x–xiii.

pa); the Buddha answers with *Udānavarga* XX,2. The only parallel to this verse noted by Bernhard is found in the *Nettipakaraṇa*, which also opens with the verse question; neither question nor answer is found elsewhere in the Pāli canon or in Buddhist literature.

UvViv 586,1
skyes ma thag tu ci žig spañ
ci žig skyes nas bzlog par bgyi
brtan¹ pas ci žig rab tu spañs
gañ žig rtogs na bde bar 'gyur

Uv XX,2
krodhaṃ jahed utpattitaṃ
rāgaṃ jātaṃ nivārayet
avidyāṃ prajahed dhīraḥ
satyābhisamayāt sukham

UvT XX,2
skyes ma thag tu khro ba spoñs
skyes nas 'dod chags spañ bar gyis
brtan pas ma rig rab tu spañ
bden pa mthoñ na bde bar 'gyur

The agreement is very close. The only major variant occurs in line d of the answer: the *Nettipakaraṇa* and the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* agree on *saccābhisamaya* = *satyābhisamaya*;² the Tibetan *Udānavarga* has instead *bden pa mthoñ* = *satyadarśana*. Prajñāvarman (UvViv 586,20) gives *sdug bsñal mthoñ ba* = *duḥkhadarśana* as the preferred

¹ Balk reads *bstan*; this should be corrected to *brtan* on the basis of UvT, UvViv 586,17, and the *dhīra* of Nett and Uv.

² The *Udānavarga de Subaṣi* (ed. H. Nakatani, Paris, 1987, p. 57) has *satyābhisamayena*.

Nettipakaraṇa 145,25
kiṃ sū hane uppaṭitaṃ
kiṃ su jātaṃ vinodaye
kiñ c' assu pajahe dhīro
kissābhisamayo sukho

Nettipakaraṇa 146,1
kodhaṃ hane uppaṭitaṃ
rāgaṃ jātaṃ vinodaye
avijjāṃ pajahe dhīro
saccābhisamayo sukho

reading, but notes an alternate reading (586,26) *bden pa rtogs na* = *satyābhisamaya*. Bernhard notes a Sanskrit variant, *duḥkhābhisamaya*.

For Uv XX,1 (= Dhp XVII,1) Prajñāvarman (UvViv 584,18) gives as official *nidāna* a verse question in canonical style that is not found in the Pāli or other parallels. Other *nidānas* have Pāli counterparts. For Uv XX,3 (UvViv 587,1) he gives as official *nidāna* a question spoken by Śakra, and then the Uv verse as answer. Both question and answer are found in the *Sakka-saṃyutta* (S I 237,9–13) with Sakka as interlocutor, as well as in the *Devatā* (S I 41,15–20), *Devaputta* (S I 47,8–12), and *Brāhmaṇa* (S I 161,3–8) *Samyuttas*, with various interlocutors, in the *Nettipakaraṇa* (Nett 145,19), and in the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (XVII,15–16). The official *nidāna* to Uv XX,4–14 (UvViv 588–96) gives a parallel to the *Vepacitti-sutta* of the *Sakka-saṃyutta* (S I 220,33–222,19), including the prose introduction. The official alternate *nidāna* to Uv XX,13 (UvViv 596,5)¹ may be related to the *Asurindaka-sutta* (S I 163–64), and the official *nidāna* to Uv XX,20–22 (UvViv 601,13) is similar to the *Akkosaka-sutta* (S I 161–63), both of the *Brāhmaṇa-saṃyutta*.² The commentary also cites sūtras (cf. UvViv 587,20 with A I 200,4) and refers to *jātakas* (UvViv 592,15 [also 1021,27], *Ma he'i skyes pa'i rabs* = *Mahisa-jātaka* [Ja 278]; UvViv 593,10, *Thams cad sbyin pa'i skyes pa'i rabs* = *Sarvaṃdada-jātaka* [Ja 499, *Sivi*]). Balk's Tibetan

¹ I describe this as an “official alternate” because Prajñāvarman does not ascribe it to “some” or “others”, but simply states *'dir yañ glen gzi gzan du brjod de*, “here another *nidāna* is also given”. It seems possible that he is referring to a different *nidāna* occurring in another place in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin scriptures (just as in Pāli the same verse occurs in different places with different *nidānas*) rather than the *nidāna* of another school.

² The *Akkosaka-sutta* has parallels in the two Chinese *Samyuktāgamas* (Chizen Akanuma, *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas*, Nagoya, 1929, p. 185), and in the *The Sūtra in 42 Sections*, traditionally held to be the first Buddhist text to have been translated into Chinese (see John Blofeld, *The Sūtra of 42 Sections and Two Other Scriptures of the Mahayana*, rev. ed., London, 1977, §§ 7, 8).

and Sanskrit indexes of proper names (II 1056–81) are a useful tool for the study of some of the parallels.

My selection of the *Krodhavarga* for this study was quite arbitrary, but such research as I have done in other *vargas* of the UvViv has led me to conclude that Prajñāvarman's presentation of *nidānas* for this *varga* may safely be taken as representative of the UvViv as a whole. In the *Krodhavarga* he gives no more than two *nidānas* — one official and one alternate — for a single verse. In other *vargas* he sometimes gives three *nidānas*. Commenting on Uv XIX,5 (UvViv II 577,13 foll.) he gives an official *nidāna*, followed by an alternate attributed to "others" (*gʒan dag = anye*), followed in turn by an alternate attributed to "some" (*kha cig = eke*) which has a parallel at Dhp-a III 84,6 on Dhp X,10. At UvViv I 212,5 foll. on Uv III,9, Prajñāvarman gives a *nidāna* attributed to "some" (*kha cig*), which has a parallel at Dhp-a IV 36,3 on Dhp XXIV,1, followed by a *nidāna* attributed to "others" (*gʒan dag*).

The alternate *nidānas* with parallels in the Dhp-a agree so closely with the Pāli that they must go back to a common source. They are direct quotations, and they follow the same "spoken (at ...) with reference to (*brtsams pa = ārabhya, ārabha*) ..." pattern. Prajñāvarman, living in North India at an uncertain date, drew on a tradition strikingly similar to that of the Theravādins. Regrettably he does not name his source but simply attributes the alternates to "others" (*gʒan dag = anye*).

Who were these "others"? I cannot say: perhaps a branch of the "continental" Sthaviras rather than of the "insular" schools. But a Sthavira origin for the *nidānas* need not be taken for granted. While Prajñāvarman does give alternate *nidānas* for the four verses of the Pāli *Kodhavagga* common to the Uv *Krodhavarga*, only three of them agree with the corresponding Dhp-a *nidānas*. The remaining 10 verses of the

Pāli *Kodhavagga* have parallels not in the *Krodhavarga* but in the *Sucarita-*, *Smṛti-*, and *Yuga-vargas* of the Uv. An examination of Prajñāvarman's commentary on these *vargas* reveals that he does not give any alternate *nidānas* whatsoever for the verses in question. If Prajñāvarman was indeed relying on a *Dharmapada* closely related to the Pāli Dhp and on a commentarial tradition closely related to that of the Dhp-a and belonging to the broader Sthavira tradition, he was selective in his citation of alternate *nidānas*.

Another possibility is that the alternate *nidānas* are from a tradition related to the Gāndhāri *Dharmapada*. (The manuscript of the GDhp is incomplete; it does, however, contain a complete, untitled chapter, mostly dealing with *krodha*, which Brough has tentatively named *Krodhavarga*, and identified as the 17th chapter.¹ The school of the text is unknown, although Brough has suggested the Dharmaguptakas or the Kāśyāpiyas, both of which are held by some traditions to belong to the broader Sthavira fold.) Six out of the 16 verses of the "*Krodhavarga*" of the GDhp are common to the Uv; five (GDhp XVII,1,2,7,8,16) to the *Krodhavarga* of the Uv and one to the *Prakīrṇakavarga* (GDhp XVII,11 = Uv XVI,23). Out of the five verses common to the Uv *Krodhavarga*, four (GDhp XVII,1,2,7,8) are those for which Prajñāvarman supplies alternate *nidānas* in the "spoken in connection with" (*de las brstams so, ārabha*) form. While no such *nidāna* is given for the fifth (GDhp XVII,16), in this case the GDhp itself contains the verse question (XVII,15) that constitutes the official *nidāna* of the UvViv (587,1). Prajñāvarman comments on the sixth verse (GDhp XVII,11) at Uv XVI,23 (UvViv I 530–32); here he gives two alternate *nidānas*. The first, in the "*ārabha*" form, is related but not identical to Dhp-a III 113,3 on Dhp XI,5 (but the differences may arise

¹ The Pāli *Kodhavagga* is the 17th chapter of that work; out of the 5 verses of the GDhp "*Krodhavarga*" common to the Uv *Krodhavarga* four are also common to the Pāli *Kodhavagga*, the first two in the same order in GDhp and Dhp.

from the Tibetan translation rather than the original Indic); I have not traced a parallel to the second. Thus all six of the GDhp *Krodhavarga* verses common to the Uv are covered by the UvViv, under five alternate “*ārabbha*” and one official *nidānas*.

There does not seem to be any clear relationship between the alternate *nidānas* of the Uv *Krodhavarga* and the Patna *Dhammapada*.¹ This work, which is apparently complete, does not have a *Krodhavarga*; the four verses that it has in common with the Uv *Krodhavarga* are found in three different chapters, nos. XI, XIII, and XVI. As may be seen in Table 4, only two of the “*ārabbha*” *nidānas* have corresponding verses in the PDhp (XIII,22, XVI,15); two have no counterparts. Prajñāvarman introduces the third alternate *nidāna* (Uv XX,6, UvViv 590,33; PDhp XI,10) with ‘*dir gḷeṅ gzi ni gzan dag ’di skad zer to*, “here others give this *nidāna*”. Since the verse in question does not occur at all

¹ The PDhp may well belong to the Sāmmatiya school. Of the four main North Indian Buddhist schools recorded by Hsüan-tsang and others — Sthaviras, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, (Lokottaravādin) Mahāsāṃghikas and Sāmmatiyas — the PDhp cannot belong to the first three, whose recensions are known in full or in part (*Dhammapada*, *Udānavarga*, citations in *Mahāvastu*, etc., respectively). The sole manuscript of the PDhp is in proto-Bengali characters. The presence of the Sāmmatiyas in the North-east up to the Pāla-Sena period is attested in a number of sources. The existence of the four schools or orders (*sde pa bzi*, with only the Mahāsāṃghikas specified) at Nālandā in the time of Devapāla is mentioned in passing by Abhayadattaśrī (Acharya Sempa Dorje, *The Biography of Eighty-four Saints*, Sarnath, 1979, p. 144,1-4); a Sanskrit document from Nepal notes that the (future *siddha*) Maitrīgupta ordained as a Sāmmatiya at Vikramapura (Sylvain Lévi, “Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l’Inde”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* VI (1931), p. 423 penult) in the first half of the 11th century (for the date, see Mark Tatz, “The Life of the Siddha-Philosopher Maitrīgupta”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107/4 [Oct.-Dec. 1987], pp. 695-711). Daśabalaśrīmitra cited copiously from their scriptures in the 12th or 13th centuries, and Tāranātha refers to their active existence. The Prakritic language of the PDhp fits that ascribed to the Sāmmatiyas by Tibetan tradition (see Bu ston as discussed by Yuyama: reference in foll. note).

in either the Dhp or the GDhp, it is possible that the *nidāna* belongs to the tradition of the PDhp. The fourth (Uv XX,13 = PDhp XI,9) is that which I have described above as an “alternate official *nidāna*”; if, however, it may be shown to be the *nidāna* of another school, it may also be related to the PDhp, since the verse does not occur in the Dhp or GDhp.

These relationships are very tentative, since they are based on the study of only one of the 33 chapters of the Uv. Are they purely coincidental to the *Krodhavarga*, or do they pertain to the UvViv as a whole? It is important here that Prajñāvarman’s methodology be determined. Under what circumstances does he cite alternate *nidānas*? Would he cite an alternate *nidāna* of another of school if he was aware that that school also had a canonical *nidāna* similar to his own official, Sarvastivādin *nidāna*? Why, if he was relying on a tradition related to that of the Dhp-a, does he sometimes cite an alternate *nidāna* with a parallel in that text, and sometimes not? Whether Prajñāvarman’s methodology can be discerned and whether these questions can be satisfactorily answered will only emerge when a complete concordance of the alternate *nidānas* of the UvViv with all existing *Dhamma-/Dharma-pada* texts, including all Chinese versions, has been made.

While Prajñāvarman’s alternate *nidānas* cannot be classified as Theravādin, they are an important source for the study of the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. The examples presented here bring to light the fact that Prajñāvarman utilized several different sources for his *nidānas*, and suggest that he had access to three or more commentarial traditions: the tradition of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins (the “official” *nidānas*); a tradition strikingly similar to that embodied in the Dhp-a of the Mahāvihāravāsin Theravādins; and a tradition (or traditions) as yet unidentified shown when Prajñāvarman cites three *nidānas*.

2.5. Sources for Theravādin tenets

One further source for Theravādin or Sthavira tenets is the vast corpus of *śāstra* and commentarial literature preserved in the Tibetan *Tanjur*. Both treatises and commentaries — on the *Abhidharma* or the *Vinaya*, or on Mahāyāna *śāstras* — make occasional brief references to the Sthaviras or related schools. Outside of the *Tanjur*, there are references to the Sthaviras in the works of Tibetan authors such as Bu ston and Tāranātha, and no doubt elsewhere in Tibetan literature.¹ Here there is the problem — interesting in itself — of the name by which the Sthaviras or Theravādins are designated. In the following I will refer to a number of possible candidates.

2.5.1 The (Ārya) Sthaviras and their branches

The term gNas brtan = Sthavira is found in both early (Asaṅga in the 4th century) and late (Daśabalaśrimitra in the 12th: above § 2.1, 2) sources.² In the 6th century, Bhavya cites the Ārya Sthavira Abhayagirivāsins (above § 2.3). From the 8th century on, Vinitadeva,³ the *Mahāvvyutpatti*,⁴ Subhūtiḥoṣa,⁵ and the anonymous *Śrāmaṇera*-⁶

¹ See, for example, Akira Yuyama, “Bu-ston on the Languages Used by Indian Buddhists at the Schismatic Period”, in Bechert 1980, pp. 175–81. There are numbers of references in Tāranātha’s history (Antonius Schiefner, *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione*, St. Petersburg, 1868; Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India*, [1970] Calcutta, 1980) and other works not yet properly studied.

² The earliness of Asaṅga’s reference may be open to question, since it is not found in the Chinese translations, but only in the Tibetan of ca. 800 (see below). Note that “Sthaviravāda”, a term employed by some scholars, is a modern translation from Pāli to Sanskrit: as far as I know it is not attested in any traditional works, which use simply (Ārya) Sthavira(-nikāya). The forms Ārya-sthāvira and Āryasthāviriya-nikāya are known in Sanskrit (*BHSD* 1056).

³ *Samayabhedoparacanacakrasya-nikāyabhedopadarśana-nāma-saṃgraha*, Q 5641, Vol. 127, ‘dul ba’i ‘grel pa, u, 187b6, 190a3.

⁴ Mvy 9095–98.

⁵ *Sarvayānāloka-kara-vaibhāṣya-nāma*, Q 5303, Vol. 102, dbu ma, ha, 417a2.

and *Bhikṣu-varṣāgra-prcchās*¹ accurately list the three branches of the Theravādins of Ceylon — Jetavanīyas, Abhayagirivāsins, Mahāvihāravāsins — as the three divisions of the Sthaviras (see Table 7.C).² I-ching also refers to three divisions of the Sthaviras, without naming them.³

2.5.2 Sthaviras, Tāmraśāṭīyas, Tāmrāparṇīyas, and Tāmravarṇīyas a) Tāmraśāṭīyas and bhavaṅga-vijñāna

The Sthaviras, or a branch thereof, were known as Gos dmar sde pa = Tāmraśāṭīya. In his *Karmasiddhi-prakaraṇa*, Vasubandhu notes that the Bhadanta Tāmraśāṭīyas propound a *bhavāṅga-vijñāna*;⁴ in his commentary thereon Sumatiśīla equates the Tāmraśāṭīyas with the Ārya Sthaviras.⁵ Asaṅga’s *Mahāyānasamgraha*, in the Tibetan version translated ca. 800 A.C. by Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi, and Ye šes sde, cites

⁶ Q 5634, Vol. 127, ‘dul ba’i ‘grel pa, u, 79a8; C, ‘dul ba, su, 65a1.

¹ Q 5649, Vol. 127, ‘dul ba’i ‘grel pa, u, 318a8. Although later Tibetan sources attribute this and the preceding to Padmasambhava (e.g. *BA* I 30–31), this is not stated in the colophons.

² The order given here is that of all sources except Mvy, which moves the Mahāvihāra from last to first. For a study of these (except Subhūtiḥoṣa) and related sources, Chinese as well as Tibetan, see Bareau 1955. The present study concentrates on sources not utilized by Bareau.

³ Bareau 1955, p. 24.

⁴ Étienne Lamotte, “Le Traité de l’Acte de Vasubandhu *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*”, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, Vol. 4, Brussels, July, 1936, § 35 (p. 199), *btsun pa gos dmar sde pa rnams ni srid pa’i yan lag gi rnam par šes pa zes ‘jog par byed do*. On the basis of the Chinese (which is, however, corrupt: see p. 250, note 116) Lamotte translates “dans les sūtra du Tāmrāparṇīyanikāya ...”. See below for this term.

⁵ Q 5572, Vol. 114, *sems tsam, ku*, 105a6, *btsun pa gos dmar sde pa rnams zes bya ba ni ‘phags pa gnas brtan pa rnams te*. For this and the preceding see also Ryoshun Kajihama (ed.), *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa by Vasubandhu, Karmasiddhi Tikā by Sumatiśīla*, Sarnath, 1988, pp. 150–51.

a verse of four lines on *bhavāṅga* from the “Āgama of the Ārya Sthaviras” (the earlier Chinese translations do not give the citation):¹

*srid pa'i yan lag lta ba dan || śes pa dan ni gtod pa dan ||
g'yo ba dan ni rtogs pa dan || bdun pa 'jug par byed pa yi ||*

The verse seems to be a garbled version of one found in the *Samyutta-aṭṭhakathā*:²

*bhavaṅgaṃ āvajjanā c' eva, dassanaṃ sampañcchanam
santiraṇam voṭṭhabbanam javanam bhavati sattamaṃ.*

The verse and the accompanying commentary in the *Upanibandhana* (here both Tibetan and Chinese, both difficult to decipher) are important because they prove that the *bhavāṅga* referred to functions in a process similar to the *citta-vīthi* of the Mahāvihāravāsins and is not simply a link in *pratīyasamutpāda*, a usage known to the Theravāda as well as to other schools.³ The *Upanibandhana* notes that

¹ Étienne Lamotte, *La Somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga* (*Mahāyānasamgraha*), ([1938], Louvain-la-Neuve, 1973) Vol. I, Ch. 1 § 11.4, 'phags pa gnas brtan pa rnam kyī luṅ; Vol. II, pp. 28–29, “Notes et références”, pp. 8*–10*.

² Spk III (PTS) 191, Mahāmakūṭarājavidyālaya 286,2–3. Since *na / da* and *ba / pa* are frequently indistinguishable in Tibetan, I have amended the *gtoṅ ba* (*ut-SRJ, TYAJ, HĀ*) of Lamotte's text to *gtod pa*, equivalent to *BHUU* and also to *āvarjana* (see Akira Hirakawa *et al.*, *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (*Peking Edition*), Part III, Tokyo, 1978, p. 90b. This gives a sequence “*bhavaṅga* (*srid pa'i yan lag*), vision (*lta ba = dassana*), knowledge (*śes pa = sampañcchana* ?), adverting (*gtod pa = āvajjana*), disturbance (*g'yo ba = javana* ?) ...”. The verse merits further study.

³ See L.S. Cousins, “The Paṭṭhāna and the Development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma”, *JPTS* IX (1981), pp. 22–46; *EB* II/3, p. 402 (“Āvajjana”); III/1, pp. 17–20 (“Bhavaṅga”); O.H. de A. Wijesekera, “Canonical References to Bhavaṅga”, in O.H. de A. Wijesekera (ed.), *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, Colombo, 1976, pp. 348–52.

the concept is also found in the “Āgama of the Vibhajyavādins”.¹ Similarly, the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* (translated by Hsüan-tsang in 659 A.C.) attributes the *bhavāṅga-vijñāna* to the Sthaviras and Vibhajyavādins,² and an anonymous commentary on the *Mahāyānasamgraha*, the *Vivṛtagūdhārtha-piṇḍavyākhyā*, ascribes it to the Sthaviras.³ To complicate matters, in his *Pratīyasamutpāda-vyākhyā* Vasubandhu refers the concept of *bhavāṅga-vijñāna* to the Bhadanta Mahīśāsakas (*btsun pa sa ston pa*),⁴ specifically to their **Abhidharma-*

¹ Q 5552, Vol. 113, *sems tsam*, li, 245b7, *rnam par phye ste smra ba'i luṅ*.

² KBC 614; Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi, La Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang*, Vol. I, Paris, 1928, pp. 178–80 and notes; Wei Tat, *Ch'eng Wei-Shih Lun, Doctrine of Mere-Consciousness*, Hong Kong, 1973, p. 199.

³ *Don gsañ ba rnam par phye ba bsdus te bśad pa*, Q 5553, Vol. 113, *sems tsam*, li, 390b7, *gnas brtan pa rnam de kho na bzin du bstan nas srid pa'i yan lag gi rnam par śes pa ston pa lta bu ste*. The work is incomplete; since a similar title appears in the Ldan dkar ma Catalogue (Lalou 1953, § 629, *don gsañ ba bsdus pa*), the translation probably dates from about 800 A.C.

⁴ Q 5496, Vol. 104, *mdo tshogs 'grel pa, chi*, 24b5. (The sections containing this and the following passage are not among the preserved Sanskrit fragments published by Giuseppe Tucci, “A Fragment of the Pratīya-samutpāda-vyākhyā of Vasubandhu”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1930, pp. 611–23. I use here the title given in the colophons to the Sanskrit manuscript rather than that given at the head of the Tibetan translation: see Tucci p. 612, note 1.) Commenting on this, Guṇamati (end of *bampo* 5, *chi*, 152b7) refers to the “*Abhidharma* of one particular [sect]” (*ñi tshe ba gzan gyi chos mñon pa las srid pa'i gnas byed par rab tu grags pa ston to*). *Ñi tshe ba* (= *phyogs re ba, thor bu, phran tshogs* [*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* I 949b], in Sanskrit *prādeśika, pratyeke, avāntara*) *gzan* (*antara, anya, anyatra, apara*, etc.), means “one particular [sect]” in the sense that it is not a doctrine common to all schools. The term *ñi tshe ba* also occurs at Guṇamati 153b6–154a1 in an interesting explanation of how the Word of the Buddha has become scattered (*'phros*) (commenting on Vasubandhu 25a3); at Guṇamati 154b6, and at Vasubandhu 32b6, 64b4. Guṇamati also refers to the *Dharmaparyāya* of the Bhadanta Mahīśāsakas (*btsun pa sa ston pa'i chos kyī rnam grans*) at 156b5. In the light of Guṇamati's references, Lambert Schmithausen's identification (in *Ālayavijñāna: On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy*, Tokyo, 1987, Part II, note 69) of the *Abhidharma-dharmaparyāya*

dharmaparyāya (*Chos mñon pa'i chos kyi rnam grans*).¹ We may therefore conclude that the concept of *bhavāṅga-vijñāna* was held by the Tāmraśāṭīyas, Vibhajyavādins, Mahīśāsakas (in their **Abhidharma-dharmaparyāya*), and by unspecified Sthaviras, and that it is equivalent to the *bhavāṅga-viññāna* well known in the literature of the Mahāvihāravāsins.

b) Tāmraśāṭīyas and the constituents of *nāma*

In his *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā*, Vasubandhu mentions the Tāmraśāṭīyas in connection with a *sūtra* citation on the constituents of *nāma*.² In his commentary thereon, Guṇamati repeats the name without comment.³ The constituents (*tshor ba*, 'du śes, *sems pa*, *reg pa*, *yid la byed pa*) agree with those listed in Pāli parallels (S II 3,34, M I 53,11, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *cetanā*, *phassa*, *manasikāra*); the definition in the (Mūla-)Sārvāstivādin parallels is different.⁴

c) Tāmraśāṭīyas in the *Tarkajvālā* of Bhavya

In his *Tarkajvālā* Bhavya refers to the Tāmraśāṭīyas in at least three different places. In Chapter 3 he cites the Sautrāntikas and Tāmraśāṭīyas (against the Vaibhāṣikas) on the nature of *nirvāṇa*.⁵ This

of the Mahīśāsakas with the *Abhidharma-sūtra* or *Abhidharma-mahāyāna-sūtra* of the *Mahāyānasamgraha* must be rejected.

¹ Q 5496, 25b5.

² Q 5496, (*bam po* 3) 36a5.

³ Q 5497, Vol. 104, *mdo tshogs 'grel pa*, *chi*, 190b8.

⁴ Candrabhāl Tripāṭhī, *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta*, Berlin, 1962, § 16.7; Śamathadeva, *Upāyikā Tikā*, Q 5595, Vol. 118, *mdzod 'grel*, *tu*, 160b8; gold plate version in J.G. de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D. (Prasasti Indonesia II)*, Bandung, 1956, pp. 109–10; Nālandā brick versions in *EI XXI* (1931–32), p. 198,11; and Chinese version of Hsüan-tsang in the latter, p. 203. These five define the constituents of *nāma* as “the four formless *skandhas*”, which are then listed.

⁵ Iida 1980, p. 196, *mdo sde pa dan gos dmar sde pa dag ni phuñ po med pa tsam ste | mar me zi bar gyur pa ltar || de'i sems ni rnam par thar || ces brjod*

does not suggest that the two schools were affiliated, but only that they agreed in this case. In Chapter 4 — in a section on the origins and affiliation of the “18 schools” that occurs also as an independent treatise — he ascribes to the Tāmraśāṭīyas a single tenet: “the person (*pudgala*) does not exist”.¹ As noted by Bareau (1955, p. 204), “ceci est aussi peu original que possible dans le Bouddhisme”. Elsewhere in the same chapter Bhavya cites a verse of four lines spoken by Venerable Revata from the “Word of the Buddha of the Ārya Tāmraśāṭīyas”.² I have not been able to trace the verse in Pāli.

d) Tāmraśāṭīyas in the *Madhyamakaratna-pradīpa* of Bhavya

In the *Madhyamakaratna-pradīpa* there is a passage virtually identical to that of the *Tarkajvālā* on the nature of *nirvāṇa*, with the same mention of the Tāmraśāṭīyas.³ The authorship of the work — translated according to the colophon by Dīpaṅkaraśrijñāna (Atiśa), brTson 'grus señ ge, and Tshul khriṃs rgyal mtshan at Somapurī Monastery [in Bengal] — is a subject of debate.⁴

do. The two lines of verse are found in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* of both the Theravādins (D II 157,15, *pajjotass' eva nibbānaṃ vimokkho cetaso ahū*) and (Mūla-)Sārvāstivādins (Ernst Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, [Berlin, 1950–51] Kyoto, 1986, § 44.11, *pradyotasyeva nirvāṇaṃ vimokṣas tasya cetasaḥ*), and are cited by Vasubandhu in his *Kośabhāṣya* (I 327.3) on *kārikā* II,55d. Here it is a question of interpretation rather than difference in the canonical text.

¹ *Tarkajvālā* 165b2, *gos dmar ba rnam kyi dam tshig ni gañ zag ni med do zes bya ba'o* = Q 5640, Vol. 127, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, u, 182b5; tr. in Bareau 1956, p. 182.

² *Tarkajvālā* 193b7, 'phags pa gos dmar ba'i sañs rgyas kyiṣ gsuñs pa las 'don par byed do.

³ Taipei ed. of the Derge *Tanjur*, Vol. 34, 3859 (= Tōhoku 3854) 267b5, *gos dmar can gyi sde pa dag*; tr. in Christian Lindtner, “Materials for the Study of Bhavya”, in Eivind Kahrs (ed.), *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam: Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson*, Oslo, 1986, p. 189.

⁴ See Iida 1980, p. 19, and Ruegg 1990.

e) Tāmraśāṭīyas in the **Karatalaratna* of Bhavya

Bhavya's **Karatalaratna* is extant only in the Chinese translation of Hsüan-tsang of 649 A.C.; because of its importance I include it here.¹ In this text he quotes the Tāmraśāṭīyas as maintaining that space (*ākāśa*) is *chidra-rūpa*, and hence conditioned (*saṃskṛta*), against such schools as the Vaibhāṣikas, who hold space to be unconditioned.² The Theravādin rejection of space as unconditioned goes back to the *Kathāvatthu* (Kv 328–30, *ākāsakathā*).

f) Tāmraśāṭīyas, Tāmraparṇīyas, and the “heart-basis”

In the Sanskrit *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, Yaśomitra refers to the Tāmra-*parṇīyas* twice: once in connection with the “heart-basis” (*hṛdaya-vastu*, Pāli *hadaya-vatthu*) and once in reference to the phrase “all schools” (*sarvanikāyāntara*).³ The Tibetan translation, however, reads Gos dmar ba'i sde pa = Tāmra-*śāṭīya* in both cases.⁴ With regard to the first point, Yaśomitra states:

¹ *Ta ch'eng chang chen lun*, Taishō 1578, KBC 620; cf. Iida 1980, p. 18 for a bibliographical note, and Ruegg 1981, p. 63.

² Louis de La Vallée Poussin, “Le joyau dans la main”, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2 (1932–33), p. 111; N. Aiyaswami Sastri, “*Karatalaratna*”, *Visva-Bharati Annals* II, Santiniketan, 1949, p. 73.1; see also English summary, p. 24. Both translators give Tāmraśāṭīya. I am grateful to Paul Harrison (letter of 29 December, 1992) for informing me that the reference is at Taishō 1578, 274b24: *t'ung-hsieh-pu-shih*, “the masters of the *t'ung-hsieh* school”, with *t'ung* meaning copper or bronze, *hsieh* ore or ring. There is at least one complication, and the final interpretation of the term, in comparison with the two Chinese translations of the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, must be left to those competent in the field.

³ *Kośavyākhyā* I 52,16 on *kārikā* I,17cd; IV p. 1204,16. cf. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, repr. Brussels, 1971, Vol. I, p. 32 note; Vol. V, p. 252, note 2.

⁴ *Chos mnon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel bsad*, Q 5593, Vol. 116, *mdo 'grel, cu*, 41b4; Vol. 117, *chu*, 388a6. *Hṛdayavastu* is rendered as *śūiṅ gi dños po*. I have been unable to find the first reference in either Sthiramati's (Q 5875) or Pūrṇavardhana's commentaries. The latter, in his *Lakṣaṇāmusārīṇī Tikā*, Q 5594, Vol. 118, *ñu*, 374a1 cites the Sa ston pa'i sde pa = Mahīśāsakas as an example in

tāmraparṇīyā api hṛdayavastu manovijñānadhātor āsrayaṃ kalpayanti, tac cārūpyadhātāv api vidyata iti varṇayanti. ārūpyadhātāv api hi teṣāṃ rūpaṃ abhipretam, ārūpya iti ca iṣadathe ān āpingalavad iti.

The Tāmraparṇīyas deem that the heart-basis is the support of the mind-consciousness-element, and explain that it exists even in the Formless Realm. They would have it that even in the Formless Realm there is form, taking the *ā* in *ārūpya* to mean “a little”, as in *āpingala*, “slightly red, reddish”.

The theory of the “heart-basis” is accepted by the Mahāvihāravāsins of Ceylon, and also by the *Vimuttimaggā* where it is termed *vatthu-rūpa*. The *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* attributes a similar theory to the Sthaviras.¹ It would therefore seem straightforward to interpret Tāmraparṇīya as the residents of Tāmraparṇi, Pāli Tambapaṇṇi, or present-day Sri Lanka. However, while the Mahāvihāravāsins would agree with the definition of the *hṛdaya-vastu* as the basis or support of the *mano-vijñāna-dhātu*, they explicitly deny that it — or any type of form — exists in the Formless Realm. This denial goes back to the *Kathāvatthu* (Kv 8:8, pp. 378–80), where the statement *atthi rūpaṃ arūpesu*, attributed by the commentary to the Andhakas, is refuted. At a later date, the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* states the following:²

vatthūni nāma cakkhu sotam ghānaṃ jivhā kāyo hadaya vatthu ceti chabbidhāni bhavanti. tāni pana kāmaloke sabbāni pi

the latter case. Note that here Tāmraśāṭīyas and Mahīśāsakas are simply examples of *nikāyas*, not equivalents.

¹ La Vallée Poussin I 281; Wei Tat p. 327.

² Thai script edition, Mahāmakūṭarājavidyālaya, Bangkok, 2516 [1973], p. 18,18–21; *JPTS* 1884, 14,23–26.

*labbhanti, rūpaloke pana ghānādittayaṃ n 'atthi, arūpaloke
pana sabbāni pi na samvijjanti.*

There are six types of *vatthu*: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and the heart-basis. All of them are found in the Sensual World; in the Form World the three starting with the nose do not occur, while in the Formless World none of them occur.

This, then, is the theory of the Mahāvihāra. Yaśomitra is correct in referring the concept of *hṛdaya-vastu* to a school affiliated with the Sthaviras, whether the Tāmraparṇīyas of the Sanskrit = residents of Ceylon = Theravādins or the Tāmraśāṭīyas of the Tibetan. That he has made a mistake in stating that they hold it to exist in the Formless Realm is possible, but seems unlikely because his opponent's defence in terms of *āpiṅgala* is given as a direct citation. Yaśomitra may be referring to the Abhayagirivāsins, to the Jetavanīyas, or to a branch of the Sthaviras settled in Āndhradeśa, the "Andhakas" of the *Kathāvattu-atthakathā*. For the present, we must leave the question open; further research, for example in the Pāli *Tikās*, may throw more light on the matter.

g) Tāmravarṇīyas and the definition of Akaniṭṭhā

In his *Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti*, Ārya Vimuktisena (who himself was ordained as a Kaurukulla Ārya Sāmmatīya) gives a definition of the Akaniṭṭhā Heaven according to the Bhadanta Tāmra-
*varṇīyas: utkr̥ṣṭasampattivāt naiṣāṃ kaniṣṭha ity akaniṣṭhā iti
bhadantatāmravarṇīyāḥ*.¹ The reading is confirmed by the Tibetan, translated in the second half of the 11th century by Amaragomin and Blo ldan śes rab: *btsun pa zaṅs mdog* (*zaṅs = tāmra*, "copper"; *mdog =*

¹ Pensa 1967, p. 30 ult. Vimuktisena's lineage is given in the Sanskrit colophon: see Pensa p. 1, note 1.

varṇa, "colour").¹ The definition is virtually identical to that of the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī: ukkaṭṭhasampattikattā natthi etesaṃ
kaniṭṭhabhāvo ti akaniṭṭhā*,² and close to that of the *Vibhaṅga-atthakathā* (Nālandā 530,1 = PTS 521), *sabbehi eva guṇehi ca bhavasampattiyā ca
jetṭhā natthettha kaniṭṭhā ti akaniṭṭhā*.³

h) Conclusions

The Sanskrit form Tāmraśāṭīya occurs in only one source: the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan translation manual compiled by a committee of Indian and Tibetan scholars at the beginning of the 9th century. The Tibetan equivalents Gos dmar (ba'i) sde (pa) or Gos dmar can gyi sde occur in 12 different works by 10 different authors, as listed in Table 6. Five of these are connected with Vasubandhu: nos. 1 and 3 are his own compositions, while nos. 2, 4, and 5 are commentaries on his works. The texts of this group were all translated in the "Early Period" (*śna dar*) of Tibetan Buddhism, ca. 800 A. C. Nos. 6 and 7 were translated in the same period: although the translators are not known, they are listed in the Ldan (or Lhan) kar ma catalogue.⁴ Nos. 8 to 12 were translated in the "Later Period" (*phyi dar*), in the first half of the 11th century; two of these (8, 9) are attributed to Bhavya. The 12 works were rendered into Tibetan by 5 known translation teams: in the Early Period Viśuddhasiṃha, (Devendrarakṣita), and dPal brtsegs (1, 2, 5); Surendrākaraprabha and Nam mkha' (3, 4); plus the unknown translators

¹ Q 5185, Vol. 88, *śer phyin, ka*, 31a2. For the translators see Pensa p. 3 and Naudou 1968, pp. 165, 171 foll.

² Mahāmakūṭṭarājavidyālaya, Bangkok, 2516 [1973], 159,11.

³ cf. Yaśomitra's definition at *Kośavyākhyā* III,2, p. 382,26: *tad utkr̥ṣṭatara-
bhūmyantarābhāvān naite kaniṣṭhā ity akaniṣṭhāḥ jyeṣṭhabhūtarvāt*. A similar definition is given by Vīryaśrīdatta: N.H. Samtani (ed.), *The Arthaviniścaya-sūtra & its Commentary (Nibandhana)*, Patna, 1971, p. 144,3; cf. also the several definitions in the *Sārasamuccaya*, Q 5598, Vol. 119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, thu*, 353a3-5; *Arthaviniścaya-ṭīkā*, Q 5852, Vol. 145, *no mtshar, jo*, 62b6-8; *Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī*, Q 5594, Vol. 117, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, ju*, 303b5-7.

⁴ Lalou 1953, § 510, *sde pa bco brgyad kyi min dañ rim pa slob dpon 'dul ba'i lhas mdzad pa*; § 503, *dge sloṅ ma'i so sor thar pa'i 'grel pa*.

of 6 and 7; in the Later Period Atiśa, brTson 'grus señ ge, and Tshul khrims rgyal ba (8, 9, 10); Subhūtiḥoṣa and Tiñ ñe 'dzin bzañ po (10);¹ and Narayadeva (Nārāyaṇadeva ?) and rGyal ba'i śes rab (11).²

The known translation teams were all made up of skilled and experienced members, both Indian and Tibetan. It begs belief that they all misread Tāmrāparṇīya (no doubt in several different Indic scripts) as Tāmraśāṭīya; that they all read Tāmrāparṇīya but deliberately translated it as Tāmraśāṭīya; or that later editors systematically changed the (unattested) Tibetan *Lo ma dmar ba'i sde to Gos dmar ba'i sde. In one case, that of Subhūtiḥoṣa, the author translated his own work into Tibetan. In the case of the *Śrāmaṇera-varṣāgra-prcchā*, we know that the translator, rGyal ba'i śes rab, consulted two manuscripts: one which he himself had brought from Nepal, and one brought to Tibet by Dharmapāla, a monk from Eastern India who came to Western Tibet at the invitation of King Ye śes 'od.³ rGyal ba'i śes rab studied under two Vinayadharas, Dharmapāla in Tibet and Pretākara in Nepal; he translated the *Śrāmaṇera-varṣāgra-prcchā* at Tho liñ in Gu ge with the guidance of Narayadeva in the time of Byañ chub 'od. His translation of another text, the *Śrāmaṇerakārikā*, compared Sanskrit manuscripts from India, Kashmir, and Nepal.⁴ The skill and care of the translators leads to the

¹ For Subhūtiḥoṣa (who is described in the colophon, 425a5, as a *brāhmaṇa*: *bram ze'i btsun pa rab 'byor dbyaṅs*) see Ruegg 1981, p. 120, note 398; for Tiñ ñe 'dzin bzañ po see Naudou 1968, p. 161.

² The colophon in Q reads Narasadeva, in C Narayadeva; DTher I 55.2 (= BA I 31) has *pañḍi ta nā ra yā na de ba*, while the verse at I 116.4 (BA I 86) has *kha che'i mkhan po na ra ya de ba*. For this figure, see Naudou 1968, p. 181.

³ DTher I 116.3, *dge tshul gyi ni lo dri yañ || rgya dpe bal po'i yul nas ni || spyan drañs tho liñ byon pa na || dharma pā la'i rgya dpe gzigs || kha che'i mkhan po na ra ya || de ba la ni de zus nas || bsgyur zin bsad pa dag kyañ mdzad*; BA I 86.

⁴ DTher I 115 ult., *dge tshul rñams kyi kā ri kā || sa manta śrī jñā na la || zus śiñ 'gyur yañ legs bcos nas || rgya gar kha che bal po yi || rgya dpe gsum dañ bstan byas nas*; BA I 86.

conclusion that Tāmraśāṭīya must be accepted as the primary form of the great majority of available texts.

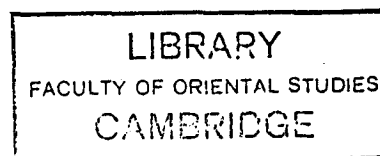
The term Tāmraśāṭīya was current from the time of Vasubandhu (4th or 5th century) to that of Bhavya (6th century) to that of Vinītaḍeva (8th century), with Vasubandhu's commentators Sumatiśīla, Guṇamati, and Yaśomitra falling somewhere in between. The dates of the anonymous *Śrāmaṇera-* and *Bhikṣu-varṣāgra-prcchās* are not known. The latest author, the 11th century Subhūtiḥoṣa, may well have simply reproduced earlier sources, although Tāranātha refers to the Tāmraśāṭīyas as existing at least through the Pāla period.¹ The form Tāmraṇīya occurs only once in a work by Ārya Vimuktisena (6th century);² the Nepalese manuscript in which it occurs dates to about 1100.³ The same Sanskrit form is indirectly attested by the manuscript (presumably from Kashmir) of Vimuktisena's *Vṛtti* employed by the Tibetan translators, since it must have also read Tāmraṇīya in order to give rise to the translation *Zaṅs mdog*. That manuscript would date from the latter half of the 12th century; thus the form Tāmraṇīya is attested by two manuscripts of about the same period. It need not necessarily be taken as a scribal error for Tāmrāparṇīya, since the latter form is attested only in late Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Kośavyākhyā* from Nepal; as noted above, the Tibetan translation reads Gos dmar ba'i sde pa = Tāmraśāṭīya. No Tibetan equivalent of Tāmrāparṇīya (*Lo ma dmar ba'i sde ?) is attested, and the Chinese equivalent in the *Karmasiddhi-prakarana* poses difficulties.⁴ The sole Chinese reference to the Tāmraśāṭīyas that I know of is that in Bhavya's **Karatalaratna*, rendered as such by both La Vallée Poussin and N. Aiyaswami Sastri. Perhaps further research into Chinese sources will clarify the question.

¹ Schiefner 208,13–18; Chattopadhyaya 341–42.

² Date from Ruegg 1981, p. 87.

³ Pensa 1967, Introduction, pp. 1–2.

⁴ See above, note 4 on p. 155.



What is the significance of Tāmraśāṭīya? The name means literally “Copper-clothed”; the standard Tibetan form of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* interprets “copper” (*tāmra*) as “red” (*dmar*). Tāranātha includes the Tāmraśāṭīyas among the schools named after their founding Sthaviras,¹ and also gives the name *Tāmraśāṭa (Gos dmar ba) in a verse list of the “great *bhaṭṭārakas*”.² His interpretation is supported by the fact that Vinītadeva’s first verse list of schools refers to Gos dmar slob ma, “the disciples of *Tāmraśāṭa”.³ It follows that Tāmraśāṭīya should be taken as “the followers of *Tāmraśāṭa”; since the latter seems a queer ordination name, it may have been a nickname.⁴ It appears that he was a teacher belonging to the Sthavira ordination lineage, who had sufficient

¹ Schiefner 208,2, *sa ston pa dan | chos bsrūn ba dan | gos dmar ba rnam ni de dan de 'i mtshan 'chan ba 'i gnas brtan rnam kyi rjes 'brañ yin*; Chattopadhyaya 341.

² Schiefner 3,4, Chattopadhyaya 14 and note 82 thereto.

³ Q 5641, *'dul ba 'i 'grel pa, u*, 187b6.

⁴ A rather queer nickname as well, at least to be adopted as the name of a sect: it seems, after all, to have been the accepted protocol in Buddhist *śāstra* literature to refer to a school under its own name — Vaibhāṣika, Mahāsāṃghika, Mahīśāsaka, etc. (The Vātsīputriyas were in debate sometimes described as Pudgalavādins — a term they themselves did not accept — but when their opponents cited their views or texts they would generally refer to them as Vātsīputriyas or Sāmmatīyas.) It is therefore natural to conclude that the Tāmraśāṭīyas described themselves as “Copper-robed”, which is not altogether likely. Could the name derive from a later misunderstanding or corruption of a toponym? Tāmradvīpa usually meant Sīnhaladvīpa, although (at a date later than most of our references) Tāmradīpa was also a name of Pagan in Burma. Tāmraparṇī usually meant the same, but is also the name of a river in Tirunelveli District; Anuruddha is said to have lived in Tāmraṭṭha in South India: cf. *BHSD* 251b, “Tāmradvīpa”, “Tāmradvīpaka”; *DPPN* 1995, “Tambaparnī”; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1971, pp. 315–17. There are other toponyms employing Tāmra: Tāmralipti at the mouth of the Ganges, Tāmrapaṭṭana in Arakan, Tāmraliṅga in the central Malay peninsula, and so on: see R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, [1963] 1973, pp. 234, 237. But it is unlikely that any of these are related to the name of our school, and hard to imagine them giving rise to Tāmraśāṭīya.

charisma to establish a following of his own. On the basis of Vasubandhu’s references, he would have lived before the 5th century — but not much earlier since the name Tāmraśāṭīya is unknown to the earliest sources — somewhere in Northern India. *Tāmraśāṭa or his disciples may have composed a treatise incorporating certain tenets of the Sthavira lineage, and the treatise would have gained some celebrity, to be noted by such masters as Vasubandhu and Bhavya. The Tāmraśāṭīyas most probably did not have a distinct Vinaya or Sūtra collection.

(Whether his followers imitated the dress of their teacher — if such be the correct interpretation of his name — and adopted copper-coloured or red robes, and hence deserved the name Tāmraśāṭīya in their own right, cannot be said. Chinese sources give details of the different colours of robes adopted by different schools; while an equivalent of “copper” is not used and the Tāmraśāṭīyas are not mentioned, there are several which fall under the general category of “red”¹ — and *tāmra* is not included in the list of colours forbidden for robes in Theravādin literature.²)

Neither Tāmraśāṭīya, Tāmraparṇīya, nor Tāmravarṇīya are mentioned in the earliest lists of the “18 schools”, such as that of Vasumitra; nor was a sect of any of these names noted by the 7th century pilgrims Hsüan-tsang and I-ching (but note that the former mentions numbers of Sthaviras). No equivalents of Tāmraśāṭīya or Tāmravarṇīya as names of the Theravāda or any other sect are known in Pāli or in inscriptions from India or elsewhere. Tabapanaka occurs in a rail

¹ See Lin Li-Kouang, *L'Aide-Mémoire de la Vraie Loi (Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra)*, Paris, 1949, pp. 71–90, and Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère Śaka*, [1958] Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976, p. 593.

² See the article (in Thai) by Ven. Dhammānanda, *Agramahāpaṇḍitānusaṛaṇa*, Lampang, 2535 [1992], “Cīvara”, pp. 172–76; *EB* IV/2, p. 184b (“Cīvara”).

inscription from Bodh Gayā, but probably not in the sense of adherent of a sect;¹ the toponym Taṃbapaṃṇi occurs in the rock edicts of Aśoka.² A 3rd century Prakrit inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa describes the meritorious deeds of a munificent lay woman (*uvāsikā = upāsikā*) named Bodhisiri. The main dedication is to the Taṃbapaṃṇaka Theras (*theriyānaṃ taṃbapa[m]ṇakānaṃ suparigahe*), “converters” (*pasādaka*) of a number of countries, listed from Kasmira to Taṃbapaṃṇi-dīpa.³ Bodhisiri also erected a shrine for a bodhi tree in the “Sinhalese monastery” (*sīhaḷavihāre bodhirukha-pāsāda*), presumably in the same vicinity (*EI XX*, 22.25). Another Prakrit inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, dated to the middle of the 3rd century, records the installation of a stone slab bearing the image of the Buddha’s footprints in the monastery (*vihāra*) of “the teachers, the Theras, the Vibhajjavādins (*āchariyānaṃ theriyānaṃ vibhajavādānaṃ*) ‘converters’ (*pasādaka*) of Kasmira, Gaṃdhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa, and Taṃbapaṃnidīpa, the dwellers in the Great Monastery (*mahāvihāravāsinaṃ*)”.⁴ That Theriya here means Theras or Sthaviras in the sense of a sect rather than simply “elders” is suggested by the fact that contemporary Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

¹ *EI X*, 1909–10, Appendix, § 946.

² cf. Lamotte, *Histoire*, pp. 329–30.

³ *EI XX*, 1929–30, p. 22, 13–15. Note that the term *pasādaka* in this and the following inscription has parallels, used in an identical context, in the *pasādayi* of the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Ch. VIII), *pasādayum* of the *Mahāvāṃsa* (XII, 43), and the *abhiprasādita* of the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*: Sylvain Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga (La Grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahā Karmavibhaṅga)*, Paris, 1932, p. 61, 11, 12, etc). Similar lists of countries occur in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Ch. VIII), the *Mahāvāṃsa* (Ch. XII, vv. 1–8 and foll.), and the *Thūpavaṃsa* (Ch. 6).

⁴ *EI XXXIII*, 1959–60, pp. 247–50. For an overview of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and its inscriptions, see Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, [1971] 1980, pp. 204–10; P.R. Srinivasan and S. Sankaranarayanan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshvāku Period*, Hyderabad, 1979; and Elisabeth S. Rosen, “Buddhist architecture and lay patronage at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa”, in Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallement (edd.), *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical, and Architectural Significance*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 112–26.

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dedications to other schools do not employ the term, but rather the phrase “masters of such-and-such a school”: *a*-[or *ā*-]*cariyānaṃ aparamahāvinaseliyānaṃ, bahusutiyānaṃ, and mahi[sā]sakānaṃ*.¹ If we take the two inscriptions — from two different sites — to refer to the same sect, we get the equation Taṃbapaṃṇaka Theras = Vibhajjavādin Theras = Mahāvihāravāsins. Since the epithet Mahāvihāra was applied to numerous monasteries in India and abroad,² and occurs in other Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions³ including Bodhisiri’s inscription, it is not certain whether “Great Monastery” refers here to one at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or that at Anurādhapura in Ceylon.

2.5.3. Sthaviras and Vibhajjavādins

We have seen above that the *Upanibandhana* on the *Mahāvānasamgraha* and the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* ascribe the concept of *bhavāṅga* to the Sthaviras and Vibhajjavādins, and that the latter are described as Sthaviras in a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription. In the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Tarkajvālā*, and the *Abhidharmadīpa* the Vibhajjavādins are said to reject the fundamental tenet of the Sarvāstivāda, the existence of the dharmas of past, future, and present, and to hold that past karma which has borne fruit and the future do not exist while past karma that has not yet borne fruit and the present do exist.⁴ According to the *Kośa* and the *Tarkajvālā*, this is the origin of their name. In the *Kathāvattu-aṭṭhakathā* (I 8) the theory that a part of both past and future exist is attributed to the Kassapikas. In his *Tarkajvālā* Bhavya cites a verse of four lines, spoken by Venerable

¹ *EI XX*, 1929–30, pp. 17, 19, 24; *EI XXI*, 1931–32, p. 62.

² See *Hōbōgin* VI 679 foll. (“Daiji”). The term *mahāvihāriya* is regularly used in the “monastic sealings” of Northern India: see e.g. *EI XXI*, p. 72.

³ *EI XX*, p. 19, *EI XXI*, p. 66, the latter in connection with the *Aparamahāvinaseliyas*.

⁴ *Kośabhāṣya* III 805, 10 ad *kārikā* V, 25cd; Bhavya in Q 5640, Vol. 127, 178a2; Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, Patna, 1977, p. 257, 4.

Kālundāyin (*tshe dan ldan pa nag po 'char ka*) to the Buddha, from the "Word of the Buddha" of the Ārya Vibhajyavādins.¹ Bareau (1955, p. 167) has noted that "la question des Vibhajyavādins est l'une des plus difficiles du problème général des sectes": I agree, and refer the reader to his study. The only point I wish to make is that in the sources studied here they are related to the Tāmraśāṭīyas and the Sthaviras through the *bhavāṅga-vijñāna*.

2.5.4. Sthaviras and Mahiśāsakas

A Mahiśāsaka theory of the "*skandhas* that endure throughout Samsāra" is cited in Yogācāra literature as a Śrāvakayāna parallel to the concept of *ālayavijñāna*.² The *Vivṛtagūḍhārtha* also refers to this theory.³ It is therefore related to the *bhavāṅgavijñāna*, and indeed, as seen above, Vasubandhu also ascribes the use of that term to this school, referring to their **Abhidharma-dharmaparyāya*. In his *Vyākhyāyukti*, the same author notes that the Mahiśāsakas and others do not accept *sūtras* dealing with the "intermediate state" (*antarā-bhava*) as canonical;⁴ in his commentary thereon, Guṇamati states that "others" refers to "Dharmaguptakas, Kāśyapīyas, etc."⁵ The intermediate state is also rejected by the author of the *Vimuttimaggā* and by the Mahāvihāravāsins; the Mahiśāsaka standpoint is confirmed by Vasumitra, Bhavya, and Vinītadeva (Bareau 1955, p. 184). In his *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā*, Vasubandhu cites the Bhadanta Mahiśāsakas on the relationship between the *aṅga* of *pratītyasamutpāda* and the three times;⁶ their interpretation

¹ *Tarkajvālā*, 194a6–7, 'phags pa rnam par phye ste smra ba rnam kyi saṅs rgyas kyi gsuṅs pa.

² cf. La Vallée Poussin, *La Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang* I 180, and Lamotte, *La Somme du Grande Véhicule* II, pp. 27–28, "Notes et références", pp. 7*–8*.

³ Q 5553, Vol. 113, *sems tsam*, li, 383a3, b2.

⁴ Q 5562, Vol. 113, *sems tsam*, si, 124a8, sa ston pa'i sde la sogs pa.

⁵ Q 5570, Vol. 114, *sems tsam*, i, 153a2, [sa] ston pa'i sde dan, chos sruṅ gi (!) sde dan, 'od sruṅs gi sde la sogs pa'o.

⁶ Q 5496, Vol. 104, 65a8; cf. Guṇamati 271b3.

should be compared with that of the Theravādins. Bhavya cites 12 lines of verse, spoken by Venerable Subhūti (*tshe dan ldan pa rab 'byor*), from the "**Aṣṭavargīya* of the Ārya Mahiśāsakas".¹ The sect is referred to in an inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (see above), and its presence is attested in Ceylon.² It thus seems to have lived side-by-side with the Sthaviras in at least Andhra and Laṅka.

2.5.5. Sthaviras, Kāśyapīyas, and Dharmaguptakas

As seen above, Guṇamati states that the Kāśyapīyas reject the theory of the "intermediate state". Vasubandhu gives brief citations from a *sūtra* of the school in his *Abhidharmakośa*,³ and from a *sūtra* and "a text (*grantha*) of the Bhadanta Kāśyapīyas" in his *Vyākhyāyukti*.⁴ Bhavya cites 16 lines of verse spoken by Ārya Śāriputra ('*phags pa śāri'i bu*) to the Buddha from the "**Pāramitā-mārga* of the Ārya Kāśyapīyas".⁵ The sect is referred to as Kaśaviana in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from North-western India.⁶

According to Guṇamati, the Dharmaguptakas rejected the theory of the "intermediate state". According to Yaśomitra and Pūrṇavardhana they asserted "insight [into the four truths] in a single moment" (*ekābhisamaya*),⁷ as did the author of the *Vimuttimaggā*, the Mahāvihāravāsins, the Mahiśāsakas, the Kāśyapīyas (and also the

¹ *Tarkajvālā* 194a3–6, 'phags pa sa ston pa rnam kyi tshoms brgyad pa.

² Bareau 1955, p. 181.

³ *Kośabhāṣya* III 941.5, ad *kārikā* VI,34ab.

⁴ VyY 32a7, 'od sruṅs pa'i sde pa dag gi mdo las, 54b6, btsun pa 'od sruṅs pa'i gzuṅ las ...

⁵ *Tarkajvālā* 193b3–7, 'phags pa 'od sruṅs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'i lam.

⁶ Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. 1, repr. New Delhi, 1991, pp. 63, 87–89, 121–22; *BÉFEO* 1984, pp. 33 foll.

⁷ *Kośavyākhyā* III 925,13 ad *kārikā* VI,27ab; Pūrṇavardhana, Q 5597, Vol. 119, mion pa'i bstan bcos, thu, 305b1, 'phags pa chos sruṅ ba'i sde pa la sogs pa.

Mahāsāṃghika schools, all against the Sarvāstivādins, who asserted “insight in stages”, *anupūrvābhisamaya*). Bhavya cites 16 lines of verse, spoken by the Buddha on his prediction by Dīpaṃkara, from the “**Dharmapada* of the Ārya Dharmaguptakas”.¹ The verses are not found in the Theravādin *Dhammapada* or, as far as I know, in any other *Dharmapada*.

2.5.6. Sources for Theravādin tenets: conclusions

The conclusions for this section are rather inconclusive: much more work remains to be done. That there was a close relationship between the Tāmraśāṭīyas and the Sthaviras is certain. The equation is given by Sumatīśīla, and confirmed by the ascription of the *bhavāṅga-vijñāna* to the Sthaviras in the *Mahāyānasamgraha*, its *Upanibandhana*, and the *Siddhi* of Hsüan-tsang and by the ascription of the *hṛdayavastu* to the Tāmraśāṭīyas in the (Tibetan) *Kośavyākhyā* and of a similar tenet to the Sthaviras in the *Siddhi*. These two tenets preclude a connection with the Sarvāstivādins, as suggested by Vinītadeva and others, or with the Sāmmatīyas as given in the *Śrāmaṇera-* and *Bhikṣu-varṣāgraprchās* (see Table 7 and below). The other theories or tenets attributed to the Tāmraśāṭīyas also seem compatible with those of the Theravādins of Ceylon.

The Mahīśāsakas and Vibhajyavādins are also cited in connection with the *bhavāṅga*, and the Tāmraśāṭīyas and Sthaviras in connection with the heart-basis. Bareau and others have shown that the *Vinayas* of the Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas are affiliated with the *Vinaya* of the Theravādins.² It is likely that doctrines such as *hṛdaya-*

vastu and *bhavāṅga* developed in embryo among the monks of the early Sthavira lineage in India, and that they were refined over the centuries in the branches of that school such as the Theravādins of Ceylon and the Tāmraśāṭīyas and Mahīśāsakas of India, leading to differences of interpretation. It is clear, and only natural, that each branch underwent its own separate development: the texts of the individual schools cited by Bhavya in his *Tarkajvālā* seem to have no parallels in Theravādin literature, and the Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas held views that were rejected by the Theravādins, as, for example, on the nature of the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*).¹

But periodic contact between the various schools could have brought with it “contamination”. The conservatism of the Thera tradition of Ceylon is often overrated. The *hadaya-vatthu* (not listed in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*) and the developed *bhavāṅga* theory (along with the Theravādin *khanīkavāda*) appear only with Buddhaghosa. The great *ācariya* was an Indian monk who almost certainly selectively introduced new material from the tenets of the Indian Sthavira schools: he was not only a codifier but also an innovator, but the latter aspect of his career is too frequently ignored.

The Tāmraśāṭīyas, Mahīśāsakas, and Dharmaguptakas may be taken as branches of the Sthavira school.² But what Sthaviras? We cannot, on the basis of the evidence, identify them with the Sthaviras of Ceylon. “Sthavira” as used by Sumatīśīla, Asaṅga, and Hsüan-tsang may well refer to the broader Vinaya lineage of the Tāmraśāṭīyas: that is, they

evidence to suggest that either the Tāmraśāṭīyas or Vibhajyavādins were Vinaya schools.

¹ cf. Bareau 1955, p. 185, and *Kośavyākhyā* II 452 ad *kārikā* III,28.

² I do not think the Mahīśāsakas alone can be taken as “the continental counterpart” of the Theravādins (Bareau 1955, p. 183): it is simplistic to expect the Sthaviras, spread out over a wide area in different countries and conditions, to have sprung only a single branch.

¹ *Tarkajvālā* 194a7–b2, ‘*phags pa chos sbas pa rnam kyī chos kyī rkaṅ pa*. See 198a3–7 for another citation.

² For the language of the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas, see J.W. de Jong, “Fa-hsien and Buddhist Texts in Ceylon”, *JPTS* IX, 1981, pp. 105–15. Note that there is no

were not *the* Sthaviras but rather one of several schools of the Sthavira fold in India, along with at least the Mahiśāsakas and the Vibhajyavādins. (Note that the Theravādins of Ceylon do not portray themselves as part of a "Greater Sthavira School" of Jambudvīpa, about which they are silent, but rather as the sole repositories of the pristine Sthavira lineage.)

The affiliation of the Sthaviras, Tāmraśāṭīyas, Vibhajyavādins, Mahiśāsakas, Kāśyapiyas, and Dharmaguptakas suggested by the sources cited above does not, however, agree with that given in the later treatises on the "18 schools". The closest parallel is given by Bhavya, who reports a tradition that places the Tāmraśāṭīyas, Mahiśāsakas, Kāśyapiyas, and Dharmaguptakas under the Vibhajyavādins (Table 7.B).¹ According to this tradition the Vibhajyavādins are distinct from the Sthaviras. Vinītadeva, Subhūtiḥoṣa, and the anonymous *Ārya-sarvāstivādi-mūla-bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra-vṛtti* count the Tāmraśāṭīyas as number 6 of the seven branches of the Sarvāstivādins (along with, let us note, the Mahiśāsakas, Kāśyapiyas, Dharmaguptakas, and Vibhajyavādins of Bhavya's list).² This list must originate with the Sarvāstivādins, to whom it gives prominence. A Sarvāstivādin affiliation for these schools can be rejected since it is contradicted by both other, earlier, sources on the "18 schools" and by the doctrines ascribed to them; the point of interest is that the group is kept together. In the

¹ Q 5640, u, 179a4; *Tarkajvālā* 162b5; Bareau 1956, 171–72.

² *Phags pa thams cad yod par smra ba'i rtsa ba'i dge slon ma'i so sor thar pa'i mdo'i 'grel pa*, Q 5614, Vol. 122, *mdo 'grel, tshu*, 3b8 foll. The Sanskrit title is so presented in the Peking edition. The commentary might be based on a Sarvāstivādin version of the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* since it describes the Sarvāstivādins as the "root" (*rtsa ba = mūla*) but the Mūlasarvāstivādins as the first of the "seven branches" (*yan lag = sākhā*)(3b8); the author must, however, have been a Mahāyānist since he or she cites *sūtras* of that "school" in the form of excerpts from the *Sūtra-samuccaya*. An interesting feature of the work is that it mentions 22 schools (3b7), referring the reader to the *śāstras* of Ācāryas Vasumitra (dByig gi bśes gñen) and Vinītadeva (Dul ba'i lha) for details (4a5). The latter reference dates the work to the 8th century.

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Śrāmaṇera- and *Bhikṣu-varṣāgraprccchās*, the Tāmraśāṭīyas are grouped under Sāmmatiya;¹ this too is clearly wrong since it goes against all other sources.

Does this mean that the schools themselves forgot their own Vinaya lineage, or that the mistakes are due to writers of other schools? Both are possible, but the latter seems more likely, since most of the writers clearly belonged to the Sarvāstivādin or other lineages, but certainly not to the schools in question. Further, some schools may have been extinct by the time of the later reports, and some of them always had a limited geographical presence. That the Sāmmatiyas had a clear idea of their own lineage is clear from a citation of Daśabalaśrimitra.²

Other names must be considered in the quest for Sthavira tenets. Bhavya notes that the Sthaviras "are also called Haimavatas, because they dwell in the Himālayas";³ Vinītadeva identifies the Tāmraśāṭīyas with another obscure school, the Saṃkrāntivādins.⁴ Tāranātha and other Tibetan writers refer to "Sendhapa Śrāvakas" and "Singhala Śrāvakas". If derived from Saindhava, the former may refer to Sāmmatiyas who took refuge in Magadha when Sindh fell to the Arabs; but the usage is not always clear, and at times Sendhapa and Singhala seem to be interchangeable.⁵

¹ Q 5634, Vol. 127, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, u, 79a7; Q 5649, Vol. 127, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, u, 318a7.

² See Peter Skilling, "History and Tenets of the Sāmmatiya School", *Linhsion*— *Publication d'études bouddhologiques*, No. 19 (June–Sept. 1982), pp. 38–52.

³ Q 5640, 177b8; *Tarkajvālā* 161b6, *de ñid la gaṅs kyi ri pa zes kyañ zer te | gaṅs kyi ri la brten nas gnas pa'i phyir ro*. For this school, see Bareau 1955, pp. 111–13.

⁴ Q 5640, u, 189b8, 'pho ba smra ba de dag ni gos dmar gyi sde pa ñid do; Bareau 1956, pp. 192, 196–99. For this school, see Bareau 1955, Ch. XXII.

⁵ For a different interpretation of Sendhapa, based on the variant Pendapa, see Ruegg 1992, pp. 267–68, and accompanying notes.

In some cases the school may not be named at all, but simply described as “some” or “others”. In his *Vyākhyāyukti*,¹ for example, Vasubandhu, analyses the phrase *su-arthaṃ su-vyañjanam*, the standard form met with in Sanskrit texts. He notes also that “some read **sa-arthaṃ sa-vyañjanam*” (*kha cig ni don dan ldan pa dan | tshig 'bru dan ldan pa zes 'don te*); this agrees with the standard Pāli form *sa-atthaṃ sa-byañjanam* (M I 179,7, etc.). Unfortunately neither Vasubandhu nor his commentator Guṇamati says who these “some” are; they may be Theravādins, but they may also be members of one of the several Buddhist schools whose scriptures have not come down to us. At any rate, the reference shows that the reading preferred by the Theravādins was known to Vasubandhu.

3. Modern translations of Theravādin texts

3.1. The *Dhammapada* and Gedun Chomphel

The *Dhammapada* was translated from Pāli into Tibetan by the modern scholar Gedun Chomphel (dGe 'dun Chos 'phel, 1905–51)² under the title *Chos kyi tshigs su bcad pa* (= *Dhamma-gāthā*, *gāthā* being one of the meanings of *pada*). The first edition has a 3-page preface by George Roerich dated Kulu, 1944. Roerich notes that “the translator is not only a Tibetan scholar of eminence, but a distinguished poet as well, and his translation combines scholarly exactitude with a high literary value”. The translation gives brief *nidānas* extracted from the Dhp-a (of the type discussed in § 2.4 above) at the head of the verses. It has been reprinted several times, and has firmly established itself in the

¹ VyY, Q 5562, *sems tsam*, si, 33a1.

² See Heather Stoddard's biography, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, Paris, 1985; according to the authoress (oral communication, August 1992) a revised and expanded English translation is forthcoming. See also D. Snellgrove & Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, Boulder, 1980, p. 245, and Heather Karmay, “dGe-'dun Chos-'phel: The Two Latest Versions of his Life Story”, *The Tibet Journal* X/1, (Dharamsala, Spring 1985), pp. 44–48.

wide world of *Dhamma-/Dharmapada* literature.¹ The colophon describes the text as “the *Dhammapada*, the second section of the *Khuddaka-sutta*, from the *Suttanta-piṭaka* of the Ariya Theras”. It states that the translation was done with the assistance of *Mahānayakathera Dharmānanda at the monastery of dPal Ral gri'i ri bo of Sinhala.² According to an editorial note in *BSR* 6/2, p. 193, Dharmānanda was Lunupokune Sri Dhammananda Nayaka Thera, Principal of the Vidyalkara Pirivena, Kelaniya, where Gedun Chomphel studied during 1939–40.³ Bhikkhu Pāsādika suggests Khagga-giri/-pabbata as the Pāli equivalent of Ral gri'i ri bo (“Sword Mountain”); another possibility is Asigiri. The colophon of the 1964 Maha Bodhi Society (Sarnath) edition (p. 156) states that that edition was published at the behest of Saṃgharatna Bhikkhu, head of the Mahābodhi [Society] in Vārāṇasī.⁴

¹ The title pages and preface of the first edition (Anagarika Dharmapala Trust Publication Series No. 2, Sikkim Durbar Press, Gangtok, 1946) have been reprinted in facsimile with reset text in *Dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsun rtsom* (*A Collection of Miscellaneous Writings by Ven. Gedun Chophel*), Vol. II, New Delhi, 1991. Chomphel's version was reprinted with Tibetan text and English translation by Dharma Publishing (*Dhammapada*, Berkeley, 1985), reviewed in *BSR* 6/2 (1989) by Bhikkhu Pāsādika (pp. 186–88) and Phra Khantipālo (pp. 191–93). Russell Webb, “The *Dhammapada* — East and West”, *BSR* 6/2 (1989), p. 168 lists reprints in New Delhi 1976 and — as an appendix to *The Nyingma Edition of the sDe dge bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur* — Berkeley 1980.

² *'Phags pa gnas brtan pa rnams kyi mdo sde'i sde snod du bsdu pa las | phran tshigs kyi mdo phran gnīs pa chos kyi tshigs su bcad pa zes bya ba rdzogs so || || 'dren pa chen po gnas brtan dha rmā nanda'i 'zabs druñ du zus te | siṅga la dpal ral gri'i ri bo'i dgon par dge 'dun chos 'phel gyis bsgyur ba rdzogs so || ||*

³ A brief account of Gedun Chomphel's stay in Ceylon is given (in Tibetan) in the biography *Śes rab rgya mishos bris pa'i dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi rnam thar*, in *Dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsun rtsom*, Vol. II, p. 369.

⁴ *Va ra nā si ma hā bo dhi'i dbu 'dzin dge sloñ sañ gha ratna'i bka' mnags bzin du | sog po chos rje bla mas lcags 'phrul tu par bskrun pa'o*. This is followed by a brief note on the Mahābodhi Society in India and at Sarnath (pp. 157–58).

The *Dhammapada* translation was by no means Gedun Chomphel's sole contribution to the study of the Theravāda in Tibetan. His great work on Madhyamaka, *Ornament of the Significance of Nāgārjuna's Thought*, mentions Bhadanta Buddhaghosa side-by-side with Asaṅga and other Buddhist masters; this may well be the first reference to Buddhaghosa in the philosophical literature of Tibet.¹ His lengthy "History of Sinhala" — recently made available in printed form — gives a long account of Ceylonese history from the beginning up to modern times. The author describes Ceylonese monasteries and monastic regulations; he gives a breakdown of the Pāli canon, and discusses the commentaries, the works of Buddhaghosa such as the *Visuddhimagga* (*rNam par dag pa'i lam*), and so on. (Note that the names of the seven books of the Abhidhamma, for which see Table 5, are correctly rendered.) In what must be the first mention of Pāli (the word is transcribed, not translated) in Tibetan, he discusses that language and the Theravādin belief that it is the language of the Buddha. He discusses the duration of the dhamma and the Theravādin calculation of the *nirvāṇa* era, comparing it with that introduced to Tibet by Kha che paṅ chen.² Stoddard (p. 182) mentions that during his stay [in Ceylon] he translated the *Vinaya* into Tibetan and sent it to a friend in Tibet, explaining the difference between [the Theravādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayas*].³ As far as I know this work has not come to light; if he did indeed translate the entire *Vinaya*, this would be an extraordinary feat — but Gedun Chomphel was an extraordinary man.

¹ *Dbu ma'i zab gnad sñiṅ por dril ba'i legs bśad klu sgrub dgoṅs rgyan* (Kalimpong blockprint, 1951) (modern page) 12.4, *bisun pa saṅs rgyas dbyaṅs*: I am grateful to Donald Lopez (Ann Arbor) for this reference and for a copy of the relevant passage.

² *Dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsuṅ rtsom*, Vol. I, Ch. 14, *siṅgala'i lo rgyus skor*, pp. 427–500.

³ Stoddard, p. 182: "Pendant son séjour, Gedun Ch'omp'el fit une traduction tibétaine du *vinaya* cinghalais et l'envoya à un ami au Tibet, lui expliquant la différence entre les deux systèmes".

3.2. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* of Aniruddha

The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* of Aniruddha, a popular manual of the Abhidhamma, has recently been translated into Tibetan by Acharya Sempa Dorjee (Sems dpa' rdo rje), accompanied by his own commentary entitled *Abhidhammakaumudini*.¹ Volume I, containing the first five chapters in 705 pages, with Hindi translation, has already been published as Vol. VIII of the Dalai Lama Tibeto-Indological Series by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (Sarnath, 1988); Volume II, containing chapters six to ten, is forthcoming from the same publisher. The introduction describes the seven books of the Theravādin *Abhidhamma*, and the commentary explains the Theravādin system in detail, with frequent references to Pāli sources. Sempa Dorjee's scholarly work is the first extensive description of the Pāli Abhidhamma in the Tibetan language.

4. Tibet and Ceylon

Other material relevant to the history and Buddhism of Ceylon is available in Tibetan sources. Ānandaśrī was not the only Ceylonese to have played a role in the literary and religious history of the Land of Snows (though he may have been the only one to introduce Theravādin texts). The *Tanjur* preserves translations of a commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra* and three related ritual texts composed by a Ceylonese monk named Jayabhadra.² In the 11th century, a Yoginī from Sinhaladvīpa named Candramālā collaborated on the translation of several

¹ *Slob dpon ma 'gags pas mdzad pa'i chos mñon bśadus pa | chos mñon bśadus pa bśadus te bśad pa'i 'grel pa chos mñon kund 'dzum pa'i zla zer žes bya bas brgyan pa bźugs so*.

² P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, Paris, 1909, §§ VII.2, XIII.22,23,33. The Sanskrit of what is presumably the first is preserved in Nepal: see Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Buddhist Book Illuminations*, Hong Kong, 1988, p. 35.

Tantras with *bhikṣu Śākya Ye śes* ('Brog mi).¹ 'Brog mi, a teacher of the first Sa skya Lama Sa chen Kun dga' sñin po (1092–1158), was a key figure in the early Sa skya pa lineage; perhaps more information about Candramālā may be found in the texts of that school. An elusive "Arhat of Simhaladvīpa" figures in the biography of the Kashmiri *paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadra* (1140s–1226).² In the second half of the 15th century, a Ceylonese named Chos kyi ñin byed (Dharmadivākara ?) travelled to Tibet, where he travelled and taught extensively. He is held to be a predecessor in the incarnation lineage of the first Jetsundampa of Mongolia. In his homeland he had a vision at "the mountain with the footprint of the Buddha" (Śrīpāda), foretelling his visit to the Mountain of Five Peaks (Wu tai shan) in China. He travelled to Magadha and Vajrāsana, then on to China, where he met some merchants who invited him to Tibet. After a year at sTag luñ he travelled to Lhasa and to Western Tibet and Nepal, where he disrobed to become a Tantric yogi. He died on his way back to Ceylon.³

The travelogues of peripatetic yogis contain information about Ceylon (and also India and South-east Asia). 'Gos lo tsa ba's biography of the Chittagongi monk Vanaratna (born 1384) describes his visit to Ceylon — where he spent six years (from about 1404–10) — and to Śrīpāda.⁴ Tāranātha's biography of Buddhagupta of South India contains an account of that yogi's visit to Ceylon, where he spent five years in the late 16th century, and his pilgrimage to Śrīpāda.⁵ Further references to

¹ Stog § 356, *sin ga gliñ gi rnal 'byor ma candramāle*; see also §§ 354, 355 (addenda p. 318), 358, 365, 367.

² See Ruegg 1992, p. 267 for references.

³ *Collected Works of Jaya-Paṇḍita Blo-bzañ-hphrin-las*, Vol. 4, New Delhi, 1981, *na*, 50a5–51b2.

⁴ *Mkhas pa chen po dpal nags kyi rin chen gyi rnam thar*, recently reprinted from a Bhutanese Ms. See DTher II 933, BA II 797–801.

⁵ *Grub chen buddha gupta'i rnam thar*: cf. Giuseppe Tucci, "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century", *Indian Historical*

Ceylon may be found in such works as Tāranātha's history of the Tārā Tantra¹ or his *Seven Instruction Lineages*,² in the biography of Dharmasvāmin,³ the biographies of the Eighty-four Siddhas, or in other works not yet examined. A brief but somewhat more modern account of the island was offered by 'Jigs med gliñ pa in 1788.⁴

Conclusions

The Theravādin texts in Tibetan translation are the work of four known translation teams: Vidyākaraṇabha and dPal brtsegs near Lhasa, ca. 800 (1.15); Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (Atīśa) and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba at Lhasa in the first half of the 11th century (2.3); Ānandaśrī and Ñi ma rgyal mtshan dPal bzañ po at Thar pa gliñ (1.1–13), and Ānandaśrī and Kun dga' rgyal mtshan Thub bstan dpal bzañ po at Sa skya, both in the first decade of the 14th century. The translators of 2.1–2 are not known.

Our knowledge of the development of Buddhism in India suffers heavily from a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin-Vaiśiṣṭika bias, since most of the surviving sources for the subject — whether of the Śrāvākayāna or the Mahāyāna, whether in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, or Central Asian

Quarterly VII/4, (December, 1931), pp. 683–702; a complete translation is forthcoming from David Templeman (Australia). Śrīpāda was an important pilgrimage centre in the ancient Buddhist world. For an account of a visit by Vajrabodhi at the beginning of the 8th century see Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China", *HJAS* 8/3–4, (March, 1945), pp. 314–15, 317. See also *Manimekhalai* (tr. Alain Daniélou, New York, 1989, p. 44), which refers to the footprints on the summit of Samanta-Kuta (I take Ratnadvīpa here to mean Ceylon).

¹ Tr. Martin Willson, *In Praise of Tara: Songs to the Saviouress*, London, 1986, pp. 169–206; tr. David Templeman, *The Origin of the Tārā Tantra*, Dharamsala, 1981.

² *Bka' babs bdun ldan*, tr. David Templeman, Dharamsala, 1983.

³ G. Roerich (ed., tr.), *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, Patna, 1959.

⁴ *Lho phyogs rgya gar gyi gnam*: an edition and translation are being prepared by Michael Aris (Oxford).

translation — belong to or were influenced by that tradition. The information supplied here from Tibetan sources helps in a small measure to fill that lacuna in our knowledge. The brief citation of a **Buddhavamsa* of the Abhayagirivāsins (2.3) gives us the name of a lost and hitherto unknown text of that school, and shows that it was available in the India of about the 6th century. Tradition holds that Bhavya was born in and spent the greater part of his life in the South, but from where he obtained the text is not certain — and the possibility that he borrowed the citation from another work cannot be ruled out. The translations of portions of the *Vimuttimaggā* (1.15, 2.1) show that that text was extant and studied in Northern India from ca. 800 to the early 13th century. The citations from other, unidentified texts given by Daśabalaśrimitra (2.2) show that other Theravādin texts were circulated in Northern India in 12th or 13th century. The alternate *nidānas* cited by Prajñāvarman (2.4) show that he had access to a commentarial tradition on the *Udānavarga* verses that must have derived from a source common to that of the Pāli *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. Some of his “official” *nidānas* give us (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin parallels to canonical Pāli suttas; they also cast a beam of light on the sources of the *Nettipakaraṇa*, one of the riddles of Pāli studies. The references in various *Tanjur* texts (2.5) to tenets of the Sthaviras, Tāmraśāṭṭiyas, and affiliated schools throw at least a little light on some of the key concepts of the Theravāda, such as the *bhavaṅga-viññāṇa* and *hadaya-vatthu*, and show that such doctrines were known to Indian scholars. The modern translations (3.1, 2) show that the Tibetans still take an interest in the texts and tenets of all Buddhist schools, whether Mahāyāna or Śrāvakayāna, and are still indefatigable in the art of translation.

While a critical edition of the 14 texts translated by Ānandaśrī might be of some value, and would clarify the extent of redactional differences from the Pāli, its preparation would not be an enviable task, considering the many problems of translation in the Tibetan. Four of

them, however, certainly deserve further study. The *Maitrī-sūtra* (1.5, along with 1.14, the *Ārya-maitrī-sūtra*) could be edited in conjunction with the hitherto unedited Pāli *Metteyya-sutta* in Burmese and Siamese manuscripts. The *Pañcaśikṣānuśamsa* (1.7) merits study since the second part (1.7B) seems to have no Pāli parallel, and is otherwise unknown. The *Mahāmaṅgala-sūtra* (1.13) could fruitfully be edited along with the Tibetan *Devaparipṛcchā Maṅgalagāthā* of unknown school, in comparison with the Pāli. A comparison of the *Nandopanandadamana* (1.9) in its Tibetan and Pāli versions with the Chinese sūtra of the same title should prove very interesting, since the Chinese version predates Buddhaghosa’s citation by about two centuries. An edition and translation of Daśabalaśrimitra’s citations from the *Vimuttimaggā* (2.1), in comparison with the Chinese version, and of the same author’s citations of other Theravādin texts (2.2), is a desideratum, as is a thorough comparison of both the official and alternate *nidānas* of Prajñāvarman (2.4) with Pāli sources. Finally, a concordance of references in Tibetan literature to Theravādin tenets and to Ceylon would be most useful.

Bangkok

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Abbreviations and Bibliography

References to Pāli texts, unless otherwise noted, are to the editions of the Pāli Text Society (PTS), with standard abbreviations. Tibetan texts are cited by catalogue number under the abbreviations listed below.

Abbreviations

AMG	<i>Annales du Musée Guimet</i>
AMG V	Léon Feer, "Fragments extraits du Kandjour", in <i>Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , V, Paris, 1883
B	Berlin manuscript <i>Kanjur</i> : see Beckh 1914. Since Beckh's catalogue does not assign a sequential catalogue number to each work throughout the entire <i>Kanjur</i> , but only within each single volume, I refer in this paper to the sequential volume number within the <i>Kanjur</i> as a whole (that given by Beckh in parentheses after the sectional volume number), followed by the catalogue number within that volume.
BA	George N. Roerich, <i>The Blue Annals</i> , [Calcutta, 1949] Delhi, 1976 (Eng. tr. of DTher)
BÉFEO	<i>Bulletin d'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , Vol. II (Dictionary), [New Haven, 1953] Delhi, 1972
BSR	<i>Buddhist Studies Review</i>
C	Cone xylograph <i>Kanjur</i> : see Mibu 1959
D	Derge xylograph <i>Kanjur</i> and <i>Tanjur</i> : see Ui <i>et al.</i>
Dhp-a	<i>Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā</i> , PTS edition
DPPN	G.P. Malalasekera, <i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i> , [1937] New Delhi, 1983
DTher	<i>Deb ther sñon po</i> of 'Gos lo tsa ba gñon nu dpal, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khañ, Chengdu, 1984

EB	<i>Encyclopaedia of Buddhism</i> , Colombo, 1961—
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
GDhp	John Brough, <i>The Gāndhārī Dharmapada</i> , London, 1962
H	Lhasa xylograph <i>Kanjur</i> : see Takasaki 1965
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
J	Lithang xylograph <i>Kanjur</i> : see Imaeda 1984
JA	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
JB	<i>gSan yig</i> of 'Jam dbyaṅs bzad pa'i tdo rje: <i>The Collected works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rje</i> , reproduced by Ngawang Gelek Demo, vol. 4, New Delhi, 1972, folios 29a1–3, 29a6–29b1. No sequential text or volume numbers have been assigned to this work.
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
JP	<i>gSan yig</i> of Jayapaṇḍita: <i>Collected Works of Jayapaṇḍita blo-bzañ hphrin-las</i> , reproduced by L. Chandra, vol. 4, New Delhi, 1981, folios 235a3–5, and 235b3–5. No sequential text or volume numbers have been assigned to this work.
JPTS	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
KBC	Lewis R. Lancaster, <i>The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue</i> , Berkeley, 1979
KD II	Kloñ rdol bla ma (1719–1805), <i>Kloñ rdol nag dbañ blo bzañ gi gsuñ 'bum</i> , Vol. 2 (Gaṅs can rig mdzod 21), Lhasa, 1991
<i>Kośabhāṣya</i>	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> of Vasubandhu: see Dwarikadas
<i>Kośavyākhyā</i>	<i>Abhidharmakośavyākhyā</i> of Yaśomitra: see Dwarikadas

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- L London manuscript *Kanjur*: L.D. Barnett, "Index der Abteilung mDo des Handschriftlichen Kanjur im Britischen Museum (Or. 6724)", *Asia Major*, Vol. VII. No running catalogue numbers have been assigned to the London Manuscript, and the original volume numbers are uncertain: cf. Helmut Eimer, "Zur Anordnung der Abteilungen in der Londoner Handschrift des tibetischen Kanjur", in *Zentralasiatischen Studien* 15 (1981), pp. 537–48.
- M Urga xylograph *Kanjur*: see Bethlenfalvy 1980
- Mvy R. Sakaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Kyoto, 1926
- N Narthang xylograph *Kanjur*: see Takasaki 1965, and A. Csoma de Körös, *Analysis of Kanjur*, reprint Delhi, 1982
- PTSD *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*
- PDhp Gustav Roth, "Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāmghika-Lokottaravādins and their Importance for Early Buddhist Tradition", Supplement 2, "Text of the Patna Dharmapada", in Bechert 1980, pp. 97–135
- Q Peking xylograph *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*: D.T. Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, Catalogue I, Vol. 165, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1961.
- S Stog manuscript *Kanjur*: see Skorupski 1985
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- T Tokyo manuscript *Kanjur*: see Saito 1973
- TD *Record of Teachings Received: The Gsan Yig of Gter-bdag-gliñ-pa 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje of Smin-grol-gliñ*, reproduced from a unique manuscript preserved in the library of Dudjom Rimpoche by Sanje Dorje, New Delhi, 1974

- U Ulan Bator manuscript *Kanjur*: see Bethlenfalvy 1982
- Uv Franz Bernhard, *Udānavarga*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1965
- UvT Siglinde Dietz and Champa Thupten Zongtse, *Udānavarga*, Vol. III, Göttingen, 1990
- UvViv Michael Balk, *Prajñāvarman's Udānavargavivarāna*, 2 vols., Bonn, 1984
- VyY Vasubandhu, *Vyākhyāyukti*, Q 5562, Vol. 113, *sems tsam*, si

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Table 1: Location of the 13 texts after the arrangement of the Tshal pa Kanjur

Berlin	(40).13–25	Vol. 40	<i>ser phyin</i>	<i>ka</i>	nos. 13–25
Cone	1014–26	Vol. 78	<i>ser phyin sna tshogs</i>	<i>ka</i>	nos. 13–25
Derge	31–43	Vol. 34	<i>ses rab sna tshogs</i>	<i>ka</i>	nos. 13–25
Lhasa	32–44	Vol. 34	<i>mdo tshan bcu gsum po</i>	<i>ka</i>	nos. 32–44
Lithang	26–38	Vol. 39	<i>gsar 'gyur gyi mdo</i>	— ¹	nos. 13–25
Narthang	347–59	Vol. 76	<i>mdo</i>	<i>a</i>	nos. 13–25
Peking	747–59	Vol. 49	<i>ser phyin</i>	<i>tsi</i>	nos. 13–25
Urga	31–43	Vol. 34	<i>ses rab sna tshogs</i>	<i>ka</i>	nos. 19–31

¹ The catalogue does not assign a letter (*ka*, etc.) to the volume.

Table 2: Location of the 13 texts after the arrangement of the Them spangs ma Kanjur

London	XXXVI, 1–8	Vol. 60	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 1–8
	XXXVI, 15–19	Vol. 60	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 15–19
Stog	289–96	Vol. 87	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 1–8
	303–07	Vol. 87	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 15–19
Tokyo	286–93	Vol. 92	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 1–8
	300–04	Vol. 92	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 15–19
Ulan Bator	335–42	Vol. 89	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 1–8
	349–53	Vol. 89	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 15–19
JB	—	—	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 1–8
	—	—	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 15–19
JP	—	—	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 1–8
	—	—	<i>mdo chi</i> (36)	nos. 15–19

Table 3: "Epithets of insight" in the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*

Derge 31, 181a6	Tib. tr. into Pali	S V 422,3	<i>Saṅghabh</i> I 135,4	<i>Mahāvastu</i> III 441,1
1. mig bskyed pa dan	<i>cakkhum udapādi</i>	1. <i>cakkhum udapādi</i>	<i>cakṣur udapādi</i> (1)	<i>jñānaṃ udapāsi</i> (2)
2. ye śes bskyed pa dan	<i>ñāṇam udapādi</i>	2. <i>ñāṇam udapādi</i>	<i>jñānaṃ udapādi</i> (2)	<i>cakṣur udapāsi</i> (1)
3. śes rab bskyed pa dan	<i>paññā udapādi</i>	3. <i>paññā udapādi</i>	<i>vidyā udapādi</i> (4)	<i>vidyā udapāsi</i> (4)
4. rig pa bskyed pa dan	<i>vijjā udapādi</i>	4. <i>vijjā udapādi</i>	<i>buddhir udapādi</i> (—)	<i>buddhi udapāsi</i> (—)
5. snan ba bskyed pa 'o	<i>āloko udapādi</i>	5. <i>āloko udapādi</i>		<i>bhūri udapāsi</i> (—) <i>prajñā udapāsi</i> (3) <i>ālokaṃ prādurbhūsi</i> (5)

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Table 4: Concordance of Uv, Dh, GDhp, PDhp, and alternate *nidānas* in the *Krodhavarga*¹

	Uv	Dh	GDhp	PDhp
1) Rohiṇī	1	1	1	XIII,22
2) Moggallāna	16	4	8	XVI,15
3) *Udari	19	3	7	—
4) Bhikkhu	22	2	2	—

¹ I give the name of the chief figure as keyword.

Table 5: Contents of Abhidhamma and Suttanta according to the *Maitreya-sūtra* (1.5, 14) and Gedun Chomphel (3.1)

	1.5 (D 264a1 foll.)	1.14 (Q 305a4 foll.)	Pāli	<i>gSuñ rtsom</i> I 453–54 ¹
A. Abhidhamma				
1.	<i>Rab tu byed pa chen po</i>	id.	<i>Mahāpakaraṇa</i> ²	7. <i>Rab tu 'jug pa</i>
2.	<i>Yamakam (gi)</i>	<i>Yamakām (dañ)</i>	<i>Yamaka</i>	6. <i>Cha ldan</i>
3.	<i>Tshigs su bcaḍ pa (dañ) gzi (dañ)</i>	id.	<i>Kathā-vatthu</i> ³	3. <i>gTam gyi gzi</i>
4.	<i>Gañ zag (dañ) gdags pa (dañ)</i>	<i>Puñ ga la (dañ) gtsug (dañ)</i>	<i>Puggala-paññatti</i> ⁴	4. <i>Gañ zag gdags pa</i>
5.	<i>sKu gduñ gi gtam (dañ)</i>	<i>Khams kyi tshogs (dañ)</i>	<i>Dhātu-kathā</i> ⁵	5. <i>Khams kyi gtam</i>
6.	<i>rNam 'byed (dañ)</i>	<i>rNam par 'byed pa</i>	<i>Vibhaṅga</i> ⁶	2. <i>rNam 'byed</i>
7.	<i>Chos bsḍus pa</i>	<i>Chos yañ dag par sḍud pa</i>	<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇi</i> ⁷	1. <i>Chos kyi tshogs</i>

¹ Chomphel also gives transcriptions of the Abhidhamma titles; these are corrupt in the printed edition. The numbers before the titles refer to the order followed by Chomphel.

² *Rab tu byed pa* = *pakaraṇa*; *chen po* = *mahā*. *Mahāpakaraṇa* is an alternate title of the *Paṭṭhāna*.

³ Both D and Q translate “*gāthā* (*tshigs su bcaḍ pa*) and *vatthu* (*gzi*)”. In D this is connected to the preceding by the genitive postposition *gi*, making one title of nos. 2 and 3: “the *gāthā* and *vatthu* of the *Yamaka*”.

⁴ D translates, “*gañ zag* (= *puggala*) and *gdags pa* (= *paññatti*)”; Q transcribes and translates, “*puṅgala* and *gtsug*”. I cannot explain the use of *gtsug* = *cūḍa*.

⁵ D translates *dhātu* in the sense of “relic” (*sku gduñ*), Q in the sense of “element” (*khams*). D translates *kathā* correctly as *gtam*; the *tshogs* of Q might be a misreading of *kāya* for *kathā*.

⁶ The translation is correct: *rnam (par) 'byed (pa)* is the standard rendering of *vibhaṅga*.

⁷ *Chos* = *dhamma*; the *bsḍus pa* of D = *saṅgaha*; Q has *yañ dag par* = *saṃ + sḍud pa* = *saṅgaha*.

B. Suttanta

1.	<i>Aṅga phyi ma 'i sḍe pa</i>	<i>Aṅ go tta ra ni ka yaṃ</i>	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> ⁸	4. <i>gCig las 'phros pa</i>
2.	<i>Yañ dag par ldan pa 'i sḍe pa</i>	<i>Yañ dag par ldan pa 'i luñ</i>	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>	3. <i>Yañ dag par ldan pa</i>
3.	<i>Bar ma 'i sḍe pa</i>	<i>Luñ bar ma</i>	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>	2. <i>Luñ bar ma</i>
4.	<i>Riñ po 'i sḍe pa</i>	<i>Luñ riñ po</i>	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>	1. <i>Luñ riñ po</i>

⁸ D transcribes *aṅga*, and translates *uttara* as *phyi ma*; Q transcribes all. D translates *nikāya* as *sḍe pa* throughout; here Q transcribes *nikāya*, but in the next three translates it as *luñ* = *āgama*. The translations of 2 to 4 are correct; Q uses the standard Tibetan renderings of the four *Āgamas* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin tradition.

Table 6: Occurrence of the term *Tāmraśāṭīya* in the *Tanjur*

Author, translators	Title	Subject	Ldan kar ma no.
1) Vasubandhu Tr. Viśuddhasiṃha, Devendrarakṣita; rev. dPal brtsegs	<i>Karmasiddhi-prakarāṇa</i>	<i>bhavāṅga</i>	651
2) Sumatiśīla Tr. Viśuddhasiṃha, Devendrarakṣita; rev. dPal brtsegs	<i>Ṭikā</i> on preceding	ctry on prec.	652
3) Vasubandhu Tr. Surendrākaraprabha, Nam Mkha'	<i>Pratīyasamutpādavyākhyā</i>	citation	653
4) Guṇamati Tr. Surendrākaraprabha, Nam Mkha'	<i>Ṭikā</i> on preceding	ctry on prec.	654
5) Yaśomitra Tr. Viśuddhasiṃha, dPal brtsegs	<i>Kośa-vyākhyā</i>	a) <i>hrdayavastu</i> b) example of sect	688
6) Vinitadeva Tr. unknown	<i>Samayabheda-samgraha</i>	list of sects	510
7) Author unknown Tr. unknown	<i>Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa-vṛtti</i>	list of sects	503

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8) Bhavya Tr. Atiśa, Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba	<i>Tarkajvālā</i>	a) list of sects b) citation	—
9) Bhavya Tr. Atiśa, Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba, brTson 'grus seṅ ge	<i>Madhyamakaratnapradīpa</i>	citation	—
10) Author unknown Tr. Atiśa, Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba	<i>Bhikṣuvarṣāgrapṛcchā</i>	list of sects	—
11) Subhūtiḥoṣa Tr. Rab 'byor dbyaṅs, Tiṅ ṅe 'dzin bzaṅ po	<i>Sarvayānāloka</i>	list of sects	—
12) Author unknown Tr. Narayadeva, rGyal ba'i šes rab	<i>Śrāmaṇavarṣāgrapṛcchā</i>	list of sects	—

Theravādin literature in Tibetan translation

Table 7: Affiliation of the Tāmraśāṭīyas and related schools according to Tibetan sources

A. Branches of the Sarvāstivādins

Vinitadeva 187b5, 189a2 Mvy 9077–84	<i>Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa-vṛtti</i> 3b8	Subhūtiḥoṣa 417a1	<i>Bhikṣuvarṣāgra</i> 318a4 <i>Śrāmaṇavarṣāgra</i> 79a5
Sarvāstivādin (7):	Sarvāstivādin (7):	Sarvāstivādin (7):	Sarvāstivādin (4):
Mūlasarvāstivādin	Mūlasarvāstivādin	— ¹	
Kāśyāpiya	Kāśyāpiya	Kāśyāpiya	Kāśyāpiya
Mahīśāsaka	Mahīśāsaka	Mahāśāsaka ²	Mahīśāsaka ³
Dharmaguptaka	Avantaka (sruṅ ba pa)	Dharmaguptaka	Dharmaguptaka
Bahuśrutīya	Bahuśrutīya	Bahuśrutīya	Mūlasarvāstivādin
Tāmraśāṭīya ⁴	Tāmraśāṭīya	Tāmraśāṭīya ⁵	—
Vibhajyavādin	Vibhajyavādin	Vibhajyavādin	—

¹ Subhūtiḥoṣa states that there are 7 branches, but omits the first.
² Maṅ po ston pa'i sde, rather than the usual Sa ston pa'i sde.
³ Sa ston, *Śrāmaṇera*, sa sruṅ, *Bhikṣu*.
⁴ = Saṃkrāntivādin (Vinitadeva).
⁵ Gos dmar can gyi sde, rather than the usual God dmar ba'i sde.

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B. Branches of the Vibhajyavādins (Bhavya) and Sāmmatiyas (*Śrāmaṇavarṣāgra*, *Bhikṣuvarṣāgra*)

Bhavya Q 5640, 179a4 <i>Tarkajvālā</i> 162b5	Bhavya Q 5640, 181b8 <i>Tarkajvālā</i> 164b8	<i>Śrāmaṇavarṣāgra</i> 79a7 <i>Bhikṣuvarṣāgra</i> 318a7
Vibhajyavādin (4):	Vibhajyavādin (4):	Sāmmatiya (5):
Mahīśāsaka (sa ston pa)	Mahāśāsaka (maṅ ston pa)	Tāmraśāṭīya
Kāśyāpiya	Dharmaguptaka	Avantaka (sruṅ ba pa)
Dharmaguptaka	Tāmraśāṭīya	Kurukulla
Tāmraśāṭīya	Kāśyāpiya	Bahuśrutīya
		Vātsīputrīya

C. Branches of the Sthaviras

Vinitadeva 187b6, 190a3, *Śrāmaṇavarṣāgrapṛcchā* 79a8, *Bhikṣuvarṣāgrapṛcchā* 318a8, Subhūtiḥoṣa 417a2

Sthavira (3):

Jetavanīya
 Abhayagirivāsin⁶
 Mahāvihāravāsin

⁶ 'Jigs med rigs (correct to *ri*) gnas sde, Subhūtiḥoṣa; 'jigs byed ri la gnas pa, *Śrāmaṇavarṣāgra*.

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BRAḤ MĀLEY YADEVAT THERAVAT THU

I

In 'L'Origine Cinghalaise du P'raḥ Malay' (*Felicitat ion volume of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H.M. Prince Dhanivat*, Vol. 2, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 329–38), the late Eugène Denis S.J. (1921–86) stated that the École Française d'Extrême-Orient was to publish his 1963 Sorbonne doctoral thesis, which was entitled 'Braḥ Māley ya devat theravatt hum, Légende bouddhiste du saint thera Māley ya deva. Texte établi d'après des manuscrits inédits en caractères cambodgiennes, accompagné d'une introduction et d'une traduction, avec une traduction du P'raḥ Malay siamois qui en est dérivé'. Unfortunately this did not happen, and the article remains his only publication on the topic to date. Very few primary sources for the story — better, stories — of Māley ya¹ are yet available in the West, and Denis' thesis has proved elusive to a number of scholars who have tried to find it: even those in Paris, including Denis' Directeur de travaux, André Bareau, seem to have had some difficulty in locating a copy. The Pali Text Society has acquired one through Professor O. von Hinüber, itself taken from a copy in the library of the University of Göttingen. It seemed to us that it would be useful to make available here Denis' text, accompanied by a translation of it into English.² The story of Māley ya deva is known to have been very important in the practice of traditional Thai Buddhism; but the text is also relevant to the matters of linguistic and literary history with which the JPTS is more specifically

¹ The Pali form of the name is spelt variously, as Maliya, Malaya, Māley ya, etc., sometimes with one of the suffixes -mahādeva or -deva; sometimes these suffixes are used alone (as in the text p. 58 below). For brevity I shall use Māley ya.

² Permission for the present publication has been given by Denis' surviving sister, Mme Marie-Thérèse Saulnier; we are grateful to Jacqueline Filliozat for contacting Mme Saulnier on our behalf.

concerned. Denis' edition was certainly intended as no more than a pioneering first attempt; more work must be done on other manuscripts before anything like a definitive version of this particular Māleyya text can be established. But it can already contribute to the further understanding of Pali in Southeast Asia, and to that of the literary history of the Pali tradition.

Denis' Introduction contains four sections: I — 'The Legend of P'rah Malay'; II — 'The thera Māleyyadeva — Sinhalese sources'; III — 'The development of the legend — Southeast Asian texts'; IV — 'The Influence of the legend in Southeast Asian countries'; and two accounts of manuscripts: V — 'Description of the documents' [in Thai and Pali, on which his edition and translations were based]; and VI — 'A list of manuscripts of the P'rah Malay found at Luang Prabang and Vientiane'. There follow translations of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu* (hereafter Mth-v), of Chapter 10 of the *Rasavāhinī*, and of the *P'rah Malay* [sometimes transliterated *Phra Malai*], and a Bibliography; and then the text of Mth-v, and of relevant sections of the *Rasavāhinī* and *Sahassavatthu*, transcribed from Sinhalese editions.¹ Some of the Introduction has been published, in the article mentioned above; for this reason, and also because new information has appeared in the thirty years since the thesis was written, what follows here is a summary (section III below), with additional information. A final section IV gives Denis' description of the manuscripts used, and explains how we have established the text of Mth-v from Denis' typescript.

¹ The former has not been edited in a European edition; the latter is forthcoming from the PTS, edited by Jacqueline Filliozat. On these texts, see now T. Rahula, 'The *Rasavāhinī* and the *Sahassavatthu*: a Comparison', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* Vol. 7, 2, 1974, pp. 169–84.

II

It has become clear in recent years that certain features of Southeast Asian Pali may well not be scribal errors, as had been previously thought, but genuine characteristics of the language as it was used in later Pali literature from that region. As is clear from his comments translated below (p. 15), Denis was aware of this, referring to F. Martini's edition and translation of the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36, 1936, pp. 287–390), and G. Terral's edition and study of the '*Samuddaghosajātaka*: conte pali tiré du *Paññāsa-jātaka*' (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 48, 1956, pp. 249–351).¹ Mth-v provides further evidence in support of this hypothesis.

As far as the literary history of Pali is concerned, study of the text will contribute to our knowledge of later Pali materials, and specifically to our assessment of the place of non-canonical texts in Buddhist cultures. In one of the earliest references to the Māleyyadeva story, G. Coëdès cited it as an example of 'a certain number of apocryphal *suttas* and *jātakas* which must have been forged in Thailand' ('Note sur les ouvrages Palis composés en pays Thai', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 15 (3), 1915, p. 40 and note 3. He was followed in this assessment by A.B. Griswold ('A Warning to Evildoers', *Artibus Asiae* Vol. XX, 1957, p. 18 and note 1) and by H. Saddhātissa ('Pali Literature of Thailand', in L. Cousins et al. (eds.) *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, p. 215). Some manuscripts have the word *sutta* in their title; but neither the Pali version printed here, nor the translation of the Thai *P'rah Malay* given

¹ See also now P.S. Jaini's edition of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (2 Vols., PTS 1981–83); K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1983) pp. 144, 178, and the works cited there; and C. Hallisey, '*Nibbānasutta*: an allegedly non-canonical sutta on Nibbāna as a great city'. (See pp. 97 foll. below).

by Denis in his thesis, nor a translation of the 'royal' Thai version (*Phra Malai Kham Luang*) kindly made available to me by Bonnie Brereton show any sign of attempting to resemble a *sutta*: they are not spoken by the Buddha (indeed they open with an address to him), nor do they begin *evam me sutam*. Further empirical research into different versions is necessary; but also, on a theoretical level, it is by no means clear that the language of 'apocryphal forgeries' is helpful in addressing the issues here. Even in the case of texts which do resemble *sutta*-s formally, it may be that the form should be taken as a sign of literary genre rather than an attempt at historical deception. Moreover, the designation *sutta* for texts not included in the traditional *piṭaka* list cannot pre-judge the issue of whether their contents differ from those of 'the Canon', nor does it indicate whether or not the texts so called have been regarded in practice in the same way as 'the Canon'. For these reasons Charles Hallisey has suggested that we use a phrase of K.D. Somadasa, 'allegedly non-canonical', or perhaps some other such as 'deutero-canonical', to refer to texts of this kind ('*Tuṇḍilovāda*: an allegedly non-canonical *Sutta*', *JPTS* Vol. XV, 1990, pp. 156–58; '*Nibbānasutta*: an allegedly non-canonical *sutta* on Nibbāna as a great city', [see pp. 97 foll. below]). In the case of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, the classificatory issue of its 'canonicity' is clear: it is neither in the *sutta* genre nor in the *piṭaka* lists. Whether or not we should regard it as being comparable to the 'canonical' texts in status and/or use is an empirical issue, to be decided — perhaps differently — for specific times and places.¹

The need for both further empirical research and further discussion of the descriptive concepts we employ is also evident in relation to the question of the origin and development of the story, an issue addressed by Denis in his article and in the Introduction to his

¹ See my remarks, and those cited from C. Keyes, in 'On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon', *JPTS* Vol. XV 1990, pp. 103–4.

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thesis. I shall discuss empirical data in III below. Here I wish to quote some remarks of A.K. Ramanujan on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which I think apply very well to the range of stories referred to as those of Māleyya, Vessantara, and 'the' *Anāgatavaṃsa* (the name not of a text but of a family of texts), three closely associated strands of the Theravāda tradition. Ramanujan writes of the many different 'tellings' of the Rāma story:

Obviously, these hundreds of tellings differ from one another. I have come to prefer the word *tellings* to the usual terms *versions* or *variants* because the latter terms can and typically do imply that there is an invariant, an original or *Ur*-text — usually Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, the earliest and most prestigious of them all. But ... it is not always Vālmīki's narrative that is carried from one language to another.

The variety and number of different tellings lead him to suggest that

the cultural area in which the *Rāmāyaṇas* are endemic has a pool of signifiers (like a gene pool), signifiers that include plots, characters, names, geography, incidents and relationships. Oral, written, and performance traditions, phrases, proverbs ... [all] carry allusions to the Rāma story. These various texts not only relate to prior texts directly, to borrow or refute, but they relate to each other through this common code or common pool. Every author, if one may hazard a metaphor, dips into it and brings out a unique crystallization, a new text with a unique texture and a fresh context.¹

¹ 'Three Hundred Rāmāyaṇas', in P. Richman (ed.), *Many Rāmāyaṇas: the Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (University of California Press, 1991); quotes from pp. 25, 46.

Although the different tellings of the stories about Māleyya, Vessantara, the Bodhisatta Metteyya and other future Buddhas, are not so varied as those of the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ramanujan's choice of language here seems to me helpful in considering the origin and development of the Māleyya stories, as well as the relationships — both textual and contextual — between these stories and those of Metteyya and Vessantara. The particular telling found in this written text of the *Māleyyadevattheravathu* seems most likely to have occurred first in Thailand; but as Denis shows, the 'pool of signifiers' from which this 'crystallization' was taken began in Sri Lanka.

III

In the first section of his Introduction Denis cites previous notices of the Māleyya stories: in chronological order these are: E. Burnouf, *Essai sur le pali* (Paris, 1826), pp. 209–12; G. Cœdès (as above); L. Finot, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XVII, 1917, pp. 65–66; P. Schweisguth, *Etude sur la littérature siamoise* (Paris, 1951), p. 129; Prince Dhanivat's review of a Thai re-publication of the 18th century 'Phra Malai, royal version', in the *Journal of the Siam Society* 1948 (1), pp. 69–72; A.B. Griswold (as above); and finally he refers to three tellings of the story, two in written form from Burma and Sri Lanka, and one oral chant ('une vieille mélopée') provided to him in writing by Ven. Wachissara from Southern Sri Lanka. The Burmese text is from the *Madhuraravāhīnī Vatthu*; the bibliographical details cited by Denis (as also in his article) can now be supplemented by H. Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts Part 2* (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XXIII, 2, Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 192–93. Denis cites the Sinhalese text from a manuscript in the British Museum, referred to in D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts of the British Museum* (London, 1900);

it consists in verses, in variant form, from the Mth-v, which Denis gave as Appendix D (see p. 63 below).¹ Most of these verses are in fact found in the *Sihalavathupakarāṇa* (hereafter Sīh), a text which Denis consulted in a Sinhalese edition, and which has since been published by J. Ver Eecke (née Filiozat) in *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* Vol. CXXIII (Paris, 1980). Unfortunately he failed to notice that story III of that collection not only contains the verses, but indeed many of the elements of the Māleyya story as found in Mth-v.² In Ver Eecke's edition of Sīh III, she cites similar sections from two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, of which the first is entitled *bra māleyyasutra*, with *māleyyadevattheravaṇṇa* (*sic*) in the colophon, and the second *bra māleyyadevattheraathavaṇṇana* (*sic*). In

¹ Denis gives the number wrongly in the first section, and in his article, as 109: it is 129 on pp. 142–43 (as correctly noted in the thesis p. 47 note 109). In Wickremasinghe's catalogue, the text is given as *Sampinḍi-mahānidāna*, 'an extract from a Pali text as yet unidentified, accompanied by a Sinhalese commentary'. In C.E. Godakumbara's *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (in the Royal Library) (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 200, what would appear to be the same verses — Godakumbara cites the last in Pali, which is almost identical to Denis' version — are found in a text called by him *Devadūtadharmadesanāva* and dated at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th centuries. In K.D. Somadasa's *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Vol. 2 (London, 1989) a number of texts with this or similar titles are found, none of which seem to contain the verses; on pp. 3–4, however, they are said to be in a work called *Sampinḍimahānidānaya* (*Maitreya-Maliyadeva-sakacchā*), described by Nevill as 'a series of thirteen Pali Gāthās, accompanied by a free enlarged translation in Sinhalese'. W.A. de Silva's *Catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Colombo Museum* (Colombo, 1938) contains three texts, nos. 1450–52, with this same title. In Saddhātissa's 'Pali Literature in Cambodia' (*JPTS* Vol. IX 1981), p. 181, he refers to a *Sampinḍita-mahānidāna*, 'known in Sri Lanka as *Mahāsampinḍitanidāna*'. This text does refer to Metteyya, but it seems to have nothing to do with the Māleyya story; it is discussed and translated in part in Saddhātissa's *Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas* (London, 1975), pp. 43–45.

² Ver Eecke notes that there seem to have been some unclaritys in the Sinhalese edition (op. cit., p. IV), which may perhaps account for the oversight.

her main text, story III ends with the words *metteyyavatthu tatiyaṃ*. The modern Burmese bibliographical work *Piṭakattamain* states that Sīh was composed in Sri Lanka, but it is likely that its compilers 'had access to materials current in Southeast Asia',¹ and the title may well simply refer to the fact that most of its stories are set in Sri Lanka. This text must have been written before the first half of the 15th century, since it is mentioned in a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1442, but it remains uncertain whether some or all of it can be traced back to Sri Lanka.

It is, however, certain that some elements of the story — the pool of signifiers — can be traced back to Sri Lanka, and this is the subject of Denis' section II, on the Sinhalese sources for the elder Māleyyadeva. The lack of reference to Sīh story III renders this section somewhat out-dated. Denis refers to previous discussions of monks called by various similar names, by T.W. Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1901, pp. 889 foll., and by A.P. Buddhadatta, in the introduction to his Sinhala script edition of the *Sahassavatthu*, concluding that it is impossible to tell whether all the uses of the name concern one and the same person; he thinks that there was an original historical figure to whose name legendary elements were added. The texts which deal with Maliya/Māleyya etc. are, in the order treated²: Mp I 38–39, Ps V 101–03, Vism 241–42 (= HOS ed. VIII 49), Ja IV 490, VI 30, Mhv XXXII 49–50, Mhv-ṭ 606. Although it is by no means clear that the similarity of names shows that we are dealing here with a single figure, historical or legendary, it is true that many of the stories concern excellence at preaching, which is one of Māleyya's characteristics in Mth-v. Denis discusses only story 41 of Sīh, which is quite different from Mth-v, although the name Māleyyadeva does appear in it and it does have a generic resemblance to Mth-v in so far as it concerns the

¹ K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, p. 154.

² Abbreviations used are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

value of giving.¹ He then describes three stories found both in the *Sahassavatthu* and *Rasavāhini*; the former text is mentioned in the same inscription of 1442 mentioned above, and the latter is dated to the 13th or 14th centuries A.D.² The first resembles story 41 of Sīh; the second concerns giving, and has Maliyadeva (as the name appears there) conversing with Sakka on that subject. The faint analogy to the Māleyya story found in these stories is much stronger in the third, Sah story 77 and Ras Chapter 10, 1. Here Maliyadeva visits the Cūlāmaṇi shrine in heaven with a layman, sees various gods and explains to the layman the good deeds done by them on earth which resulted in their rebirth there. At the end Metteyya appears³ and gives the layman a celestial robe; the latter returns to earth, and thereafter dies and is reborn in the Tusita heaven. (Ras is more elaborate than Sah, but the essentials of the story are the same.)

The third section, on the development of the legend in Southeast Asia, can be improved on now thanks to the work of Bonnie Brereton: see her article 'Some comments on a Northern Thai *Phra Mala* Text dated C.S. 878 (A.D. 1516)', forthcoming in *Journal of the Siam Society*; and her recent doctorate thesis at the University of Michigan, 'The *Phra Malai* Theme in Thai Buddhist Literature: a study of three texts' (1992). The thesis makes clear that, as mentioned above, there are a number of different 'tellings' of the stories involving Māleyya, Metteyya and Vessantara, in Pali and various vernaculars, some of them closely intertwined. Brereton's article enables us to improve on Denis' dating. The text discussed there, which very closely parallels Mth-v, is

¹ Denis says that the title of the story is *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, which follows one of the titles given by the Sinhalese edition; Ver Eecke (op. cit., pp. V–VI) gives also *vaṇibbakayāgudāko*.

² K.R. Norman, op. cit., p. 155.

³ The Ras version given by Denis contains the very surprising phrase *anekasatapaccekabuddhabodhisattehi ca parivuto*, used of Metteyya.

in the form of a *nissaya*: that is, what is presented as a Thai 'commentary' on a Pali text. One might conclude that a version of Mth-v in Pali was in existence at that time, but it is by no means clear that the *nissaya* form does not result in fact from a Thai story grouped around Pali phrases invented for the sake of linguistic and religious prestige. But clearly the contents of Mth-v, in whatever linguistic form, were already in existence in the early 16th century in something close to the Mth-v version. Many other aspects of Denis' treatment remain valuable, however. He says that although the story of Māleyya was also known in Burma, the texts through which we can come to know it are primarily preserved in Thailand and Cambodia. (Information on mss. known to Denis can be found in his article, pp. 330–31 note 6. The manuscripts from which Buddhadatta made his Sinhalese edition of Sīh, which Ver Eecke then transliterated in the Ee, were all in Burmese script.) The general structure of the story is, as he says, already present in the Ras and Sah versions. Certain narrative elements and emphases are changed in the Southeast Asian versions, and others added. The principal additions are, (i) in vernacular versions, extensive descriptions of the hells visited by Māleyya (which themselves draw on materials such as the *Nimi-jātaka* and the visits to hell by Moggallāna in the *Mahāvastu*¹), and in both vernacular and Pali versions; (ii) more elaborate tellings of the previous good deeds done by the inhabitants of heaven and of Metteyya's bodhisatta-career; (iii) the connection between hearing recitations of the *Vessantara-jātaka* and rebirth at the time of Metteyya; (iv) the account by Metteyya of the degeneration and renewal of religion (itself taken, sometimes word-for-word, from the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which Denis curiously fails to mention); and (v) Metteyya's account of the paradisaical conditions which will obtain

¹ This is also a feature, Denis remarks, of the *Traibhūmi-kathā*: see now the translations by G. Cœdès and C. Archaimbault, *Les Trois Mondes (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. LXXXIX, 1973)* and F.E. and M.B. Reynolds, *The Three Worlds* (Berkeley, 1982).

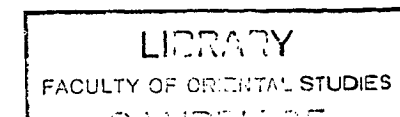
when he is reborn on earth. Denis states that many of the developments of the part of the story concerning Metteyya are found in sections of the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*,¹ a 14th century Sinhala work which is otherwise a translation of Ras. Given that the dating and provenance of these stories are uncertain, it cannot be decided if this Sinhala version is an indigenous creation or taken from texts originating in Southeast Asia.

The association between the Māleyya story and that of Vessantara has been discussed by S.J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults of Northeast Thailand* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), and L. McClung, *The Vessantara Jātaka: paradigm for a Buddhist Utopia* (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 1975). Denis cites a Burmese author of the early 20th century who states that the two were recited together, and a Burmese inscription from 1201, which Luce interpreted as referring to successive recitations of the two texts.² Brereton (1992) further explores the connection; manuscripts often contain the two stories together.

In the short fourth section, on the influence of the story in Southeast Asia, Denis discusses the times and occasions at which Māleyya texts were recited (the end of the Rainy Season Retreat, marriages and funerals, merit-making ceremonies) and adds some information about the manner of reciting the texts which is of interest not only for the social history of these stories, but also for our appreciation of the relation between written text and performance context. He cites K.E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: its rites and activities* (Bangkok, 1939), p. 233, who reports that normally there were three reciters, one for Māleyya, one for Indra (Sakka) and one for Metteyya;

¹ According to W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo 1956), p. xxxv note 2, called the *Metteyya-vastu*.

² Denis cites G.H. Luce, *Inscriptions of Burma* (n.d.), Portfolio I Plate XXII lines 1–7.



and states that skilled reciters of the text could gain a considerable reputation (he cites R. Lingat, 'Le Wat Rajapratistha', *Artibus Asiae* 1961 Vol. XXIV p. 232). Denis made a tape recording of one of the last celebrated reciters of the Māleyya story then living in Bangkok. He was a famous reciter of the 'Liké' form of 'popular comic theatre'. The passages chanted were from the earlier part of the Thai *P'rah Malay*, concerning hells and the tortures endured by their inhabitants: the first two passages were chanted by a monk in an ordinary tone; the next nine by the reciter, 'in the Petchaburi tone. The style is more complex and dramatic'; the last seven passages were chanted by him in a manner resembling that of the 'Liké' theatre. Denis adds that on a number of occasions decrees were passed against this manner of chanting the *P'rah Malay*, and goes on to give examples:

'These recitations led often to excess. The crowd liked reciters who acted the part of their characters and did not hesitate to make use of comic gestures and tones. A decree of 1801 legislated on the subject: 'on the occasion of funerals, the "master of ceremonies" is forbidden to invite monks to recite the P'rah Malai; only the P'rah Aph'ith'amma [the *Abhidhamma*] is to be recited in an ordinary tone, not in the Indian, Chinese, European or Mōn tones If there are laypeople who want to recite the P'rah Malay, they may do so, but should avoid a comic tone [un ton plaisant (drôle)]'

A law of 1782 had already warned monks against reciting the P'rah Malay and similar texts in a theatrical manner. It also throws an interesting light on the popularity of devotion to Metteyya at that time. It stated that "many people endeavour to accomplish all kinds of meritorious acts so as to be able to meet [Metteyya], according to the instructions given to P'rah Malay by [Metteyya] himself, who recommended that everyone revere and listen to the *Vessantara-jātaka* in One Thousand Verses in order to meet him in the future Monks who preach the Law and laity who listen to the [*Vessantara-jātaka*] should

use the Pali [text] and the Commentaries; if they want to meet [Metteyya] in the future, they should not use rhyming texts, and the comical, theatrical manner of representing P'rah Malay, which is an offence against the Vinaya".'

IV

In the fifth section of his Introduction, Denis describes the Thai and Pali manuscripts he used, and his reasons for making the edition of the Pali Mth-v as he did; his remarks concerning the latter are:

'For the Pali text [of Mth-v] we were able to use five manuscripts:

1. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok (Mss Pali No. 147), of which we have a photocopy. It is written in 'mūl' characters engraved on ola-leaves. There are 24 ola-leaves, thus 48 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page contains only the title: 'Brah Māleyyadevatthera- vatthum, 1 ph'uk (1 bundle). This is without doubt the best preserved manuscript, and we reproduce it as the main text. We refer to it as M1.
2. A manuscript in the Institut Bouddhique de Pnom-Penh [*sic*], given to the Institut in 1930 by the Damnap monastery in Kampong Chnnang [*sic*] province. It is written in 'mūl' characters on 26 ola-leaves, thus 52 pages, with 5 lines per page. The Ven. Brah Grū Saṅghasatthā P.S. Dharmārāma, of the Lycée Bouddhique of Pnom-Penh, has been kind enough to copy this text for us in 'mūl' characters and to send us the copy. We had asked him to transcribe it faithfully without standardising the Pali. He writes that the manuscript cannot be old, as it is easily legible. We have ascertained that the text of this manuscript is very similar to that of the Bangkok manuscript, with only one interpolation [see text p. 26 note 2]. We refer to it as M2.

3. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (cf. A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Pali de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*. 2e fasc. No. 326) (gift of the Société des Missions Étrangères). It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 18 ola-leaves, thus 36 pages, with one line per page, but the last ola leaf is for protection only and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya Sutra* [sic]. The text is written in a good, regular hand. The title is in different handwriting and seems to have been added afterwards. Notes in Cambodian have been added on the first and second pages. This manuscript contains quite significant variations from M1. We have had to reproduce entire passages at the end of the notes [Appendices A, B, C]. We refer to it as M3.

4. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Paris, No. 658 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is in 'mūl' script on ola-leaves. There are 12 ola-leaves, thus 24 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page has the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera* [sic]. The text is incomplete and only covers the first part (the arrival of the 12 Junior Gods) and the beginning of the second part, finishing in the middle of a sentence. We refer to it as M4.

5. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, No. 659 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 13 ola-leaves, but five are for protection only at the end, and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera atthavaṇṇanā* [sic]. There are therefore only 7 ola-leaves left, thus 14 pages, with 5 lines per page. It is the shortest text; it is very incomplete, only covering the last part, and even the beginning of this part is missing. It begins in the middle of a sentence. This is not a continuation of No. 658 [i.e. M4], as one might think. The writing is neat and regular, very different from the preceding manuscript. Moreover the texts are not continuous. We refer to it as M5.

None of these manuscripts carries a date. A. Cabaton, in his *Catalogue*, dates manuscript No. 326 [i.e. M3] to the 18th century, and Nos. 658 and 659 [M4 and M5] to the 19th. We do not know on what he based these dates.

One can apply to the Pali of our manuscripts the remarks made by G. Terral (op. cit., pp. 263–64) on the *Samuddaghosajātaka*, and by F. Martini (op. cit., pp. 370 foll.) on the *Dasa-Bodhisatta-Uddesa*. Firstly, there are many copying errors. One constantly finds short *i* and *u* instead of long *ī* and *ū*, dentals instead of cerebrals and vice-versa, aspirates instead of non-aspirates and vice-versa, etc. Moreover, syllables are often omitted, words miscopied (*karonto* in place of *kathento*), etc. In addition, it seems that the Pali of our texts has been strongly influenced by the Indo-Chinese languages spoken by copyists fairly ignorant of Pali, and perhaps even by the authors of our texts. We have not undertaken a systematic survey of all the grammatical anomalies, which would only repeat the studies of F. Martini and G. Terral. As far as possible we have transcribed the texts, with all their anomalies, such as we have found them in the manuscripts, restricting ourselves to adding occasionally, in parentheses, certain syllables which had evidently been omitted through negligence. We thought that these texts were sufficiently comprehensible transcribed as they are, without being standardised, and could thus contribute to future comparisons or studies carried out by qualified philologists.'

The text given here — which has been prepared for publication by K.R. Norman and myself — follows Denis' edition as closely as possible, for the same reasons. On some occasions we have corrected what seemed in our judgement to be obviously typographical errors: for example, on p. 26 line 6 his typescript had *uppapajjati* in place of

upapajjati. It seems unlikely that all his mss. would have had the same mis-spelling, so we have assumed it is a typographical error by Denis. Similarly on p. 36 we have given *samattam* on line 8 for (for his *samatam*) and on line 12 *-candamaṇḍalo* (for his *-candamandalo*, since he gives *-maṇḍalo* elsewhere). Obviously we may not have made the right decision in every case. Where we found unusual spellings used consistently, e.g. *Tāmbapaṇṇi* (for *Tambapaṇṇi*) we have left them as they were. Denis' method of making an edition was perhaps a little unusual, since he transcribed M1 throughout, even where other mss. contained clearly what would usually be thought to be better readings: for example, on p. 21 line 9 he gives *eva sammacintesi* where M2 and M4 have *evam samacintesi*, which would be correct in standard Pali. In this particular case one might decide that the forms in M1 and M3 are simply errors; in other cases it might be better to assume that we have genuinely variant forms. In the present state of our knowledge, both of this text (and the family of texts from which it comes) and of Southeast Asian Pali more generally, it seems more prudent to present what is clearly not a critical edition, and hope that future scholarship will be able to clarify the usages involved so that — when more manuscripts are consulted — the making of a critical edition may become feasible. (There has been, of course, much debate about the very notion of a 'critical edition' in relation to South and Southeast Asian materials.) In my translation I have noted on the few occasions where it seemed necessary that I have adopted a different reading from that in M1; for the most part the issues involved in the variant readings will be obvious to those who know Pali, and irrelevant to those who do not.

May this publication honour the memory of Father Denis, and add to the scholarly reputation already acquired by his *La Lokapaññatti et*

les idées cosmologiques de Bouddhisme ancien (Atelier Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille, 1977)

Chicago

Steven Collins

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NIBBĀNASUTTA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA ON NIBBĀNA AS A GREAT CITY¹

The pages that follow carry a preliminary edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta*, an "allegedly non-canonical"² Pali text

¹ This is a corrected and revised version of the edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta* that was published as "The Sutta on Nibbāna as a Great City" in the commemorative volume for the Ven. Hammalava Saddhatissa, *Buddhist Essays: A Miscellany*, edited by Pollamure Sorata Thera, Laksman Perera, and Karl Goonasena (London: Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre, 1992), pp. 38–67.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance I received from Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana, Steven Collins, Jacqueline Filliozat, and P.B. Meegaskumbura in the preparation of this edition and translation. All read over a preliminary transcription of the manuscript and each made many suggestions for improving the text. Professor Wijayawardhana's and Steven Collins' comments also aided me in translating the text. P.B. Meegaskumbura made many helpful comments on the introduction. It was, however, only through the generosity and kindness of Jacqueline Filliozat that this edition was even possible. She made a copy of the original manuscript available to me and also made it possible for me to learn how to read *mūl* script. Finally, she compared my initial transcription with the original manuscript and made a number of improvements in the reading of the manuscript itself.

² I use this appellation to refer to texts which begin with the standard phrases of a sutta — "*Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam ...*" — but are not found in standard editions of the Pali canon. The term comes from K.D. Somadasa, who uses it in his *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library* (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), Vol. I, p. 27. I prefer this label to the alternative designations "apocryphal" or "counterfeit", since it is less likely to pre-judge the whole issue of the status of such texts; see Charles Hallisey, "Tuṇḍilovāda: An Allegedly Non-Canonical Sutta," *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, XV (1990), pp. 156–58. The use of the term "apocryphal" for texts whose inclusion in the Canon might be contested has been popularized by Padmanabh S. Jaini; see especially "*Ākāravattārasutta: An 'Apocryphal' Sutta from Thailand*," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 35 (1992), p. 193. The label "counterfeit *Sutta*" has been applied to the *Dasabodhisattuppattikathā* by the Ven. H. Saddhatissa (*The Birth*

probably of Southeast Asian origin. This edition is preliminary in two important ways. First, as will be discussed below, it is based on a single manuscript and it must be frankly admitted that no textual criticism which uses only a single exemplar can be taken as more than provisional. Second, the readings suggested for establishing an acceptable text must also be taken as strictly provisional, given the limitations of our knowledge of Pali language and literature in Southeast Asia.¹ While I hope that in the future the discovery of other manuscripts and the further study of Southeast Asian Pali will make it possible to improve on this provisional edition, I think that in the meantime the *Nibbānasutta* can make a contribution to our understanding of both the literary history and the conceptual patterns of the Theravāda Buddhist traditions.

Stories of the Ten Bodhisattvas and the Dasabodhisattuppattikathā [London: Pali Text Society, 1975], p. 16).

¹ One example will suffice to emphasize how limited knowledge of later Pali as a language may encourage us to jump to wrong conclusions when editing texts. In the manuscript of the *Nibbānasutta*, the letter “ñ” is usually not doubled; thus we consistently find ‘arañe’ for ‘araññe’, ‘pañā’ for ‘paññā’, ‘añata’ for ‘aññata’, etc. In each case I have given the latter spelling as a suggested reading in the footnotes. This might suggest that the spellings with the single “ñ” are mistakes in the manuscript, but Jacqueline Filliozat has pointed out (personal communication) that “ñ” is rarely doubled in Southeast Asian manuscripts. Others have noticed a more generalised orthographic convention of manuscripts written in the *mūl* script to suppress geminates; see François Martini, “Dasabodhisatta-uddesa”, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 36 (1936), p. 371 and G. Terral, “Samuddaghosajātaka — Conte Pāli tiré du Paññāsajātaka”, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 48 (1956), pp. 312–13. Thus we need at least to consider that what might be taken as a fault is better taken as an example of Southeast Asian usage. I hope that this one example makes it clear that textual criticism of Southeast Asian Pali, indeed of any of the Pali of the late Theravāda, is conditioned by our limited knowledge of the linguistic variety permissible in later Pali literature.

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The *Nibbānasutta*, as an allegedly non-canonical sutta, belongs to a class of Theravādin literature which has been unduly neglected by scholars. Such literature, however, was apparently known to and accepted as authoritative by Buddhaghosa. In *Atthasālinī*, he makes a point by referring to “a sutta which was not composed at a council.”¹

We can begin to have a more accurate estimation of the significance of such texts by carefully considering their role as instructional aids and vehicles for the transmission of the “Way of the Elders.” When we do so, we see that the production of allegedly non-canonical suttas in the Theravāda is not always analogous to the creation of the Mahāyāna sūtras, superficial similarities notwithstanding, in so far as they frequently did not formulate new teachings.² Such compositions were apparently one response to a fundamental problem continually faced by the Theravāda, a problem which was recognized by Louis Finot seventy-five years ago: “The Buddhist Canon is not an easy study: it discourages by its mass and its difficulties the enthusiasm of the most fearless It was necessary to be concerned about making this *rudis indigestaque moles* accessible, either by condensing it in the form of a summary, or by combining scattered elements from this or that part of the doctrine, or finally by simply detaching from this immense book (i.e. the *tipiṭaka*) some leaves which interested more particularly the

¹ Asl 65.

² Of course, some allegedly non-canonical texts include notions which appear novel when compared with norms accepted in the Pali Canon. See Ven. H. Saddhatissa, *The Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas*, pp. 7–14, and P.S. Jaini, *Ākāravattārasutta*, pp. 197–98. A more extreme example of novelty in an allegedly non-canonical sutta is found in the Sinhala-language *Sumana Sūtraya*, a work dating to the colonial period of Sri Lanka’s history and described by Kitsiri Malalgoda in his article on Buddhist Millennialism (Kitsiri Malalgoda, “Millennialism in Relation to Buddhism”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 [1970], pp. 424–41).

spiritual life or the practice of the community.”¹ These different responses, however, are not easily distinguished. The *Nibbānasutta* appears to be a combination of the first two types of response specified by Finot: it is a summary, although it gathers together in a significant way material scattered in the Pāli canon and commentaries. Moreover, allegedly non-canonical suttas like the *Nibbānasutta*, circulated individually, as did even those texts which we might somewhat ironically call “uncontestedly canonical suttas”; but they also circulated in a variety of *ad hoc* anthologies.² The co-existence of summaries and anthologies

¹ Louis Finot, “Recherches sur la littérature Laotienne”, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 17 (1917), p. 71.

² Some idea of the range and variety of *ad hoc* anthologies, Finot's third type of response, can be gained from K.D. Somadasa's catalogue of the Nevill Collection in the British Library; see note 2 on p. 97 above. Some anthologies, like the very large *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* and the *Suttasaṅgha* (see Ven H. Saddhatissa, “Literature in Pāli from Laos”, *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap*, edited by A.K. Narain [Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1979], pp. 327–28), became relatively stable texts in their own right, and thus have had more enduring identities than other more ephemeral, and titleless, anthologies. They, like all of the anthologies, await sustained study, although a unique portion of the *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* has been edited by George Cœdès; see “Dhammakāya”, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 20 (1956), pp. 248–86; the *Suttasaṅgha* is available in an edition prepared by B. Dhīrānanda Mahāthero (n.p. Vijjāsāgarākhyā Yantrālaya, 1903). For a description of the *Piṭaka dan sām*, a smaller anthology, “very widespread in Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia”, see George Cœdès, *Catalogue des manuscrits en Pāli, Laotien, et Siamois provenant de la Thaïlande* (Copenhagen: Royal Library, 1966), pp. 70–76. In each anthology, the excerpted portions from the canon remain Pāli (i.e. canonical), which helps to explain the confusion over whether or not the *Suttasaṅgha* was added to the canon in Burma; see H. Oldenberg, “List of Manuscripts in the India Office Library”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* I (1882), p. 80, and V. Fausbøll, “Catalogue of the Mandalay Manuscripts in the India Office Library”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* IV (1896), p. 31 [cited at Collins, “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon,” p. 108, note 11]. See also on the *Suttasaṅgha*, K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 31, 172.

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with collections of the more diffuse canonical literature parallels the analogous tension in the Theravādin tradition between the actual diversity of thought and practice noted by historians and observers of the contemporary Theravāda and an assumption of doctrinal systematicity idealized by Theravādin intellectuals and by scholars of the Theravāda.

Recognizing that the canon was generally transmitted in condensed parts and in summaries is of course relevant for reconstructing the range of Buddhist thought and practice operative in any given historical context. But although we are now beginning to appreciate better the importance of such texts for our understanding of “Buddhism on the ground,” we still have little idea of the actual numbers of such texts, the extent of their originality, or the processes of their composition. The *Nibbānasutta* makes a valuable contribution to the pool of information that will be necessary for answering the latter questions.

The *Nibbānasutta* displays, at least in part, the processes through which summaries and new suttas were created in the Theravāda tradition. As a discourse, the *Nibbānasutta* is organized around a narrative about a man journeying to a great city. This short narrative is subsequently used to order a series of metaphors about Buddhist practice, salvation, saṃsāra, and nibbāna in a coherent, if loose, fashion. It is striking that a similar metaphorical reinterpretation of a narrative is used to provide a summary of doctrine and practice in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and its commentary. The canonical passage, which is part of a conversation between the Buddha and the Sakyan prince Vappa, reads:

Just as, O Vappa, a shadow of a tree (*thūṇam*) is seen, and a man might come there, bringing a hoe and basket, and he might cut the tree at the root, and having cut the root, he might dig it up, and digging, he might lift up the roots, even as much as a

tube holds of the fragrant *usīra* root. He might break up that tree piece by piece, and destroying it piece by piece he might chop it, and chopping it, he might splinter it, and then dry it in the wind and heat, and having dried it in the wind and heat, he might burn it with fire and turn it into ashes. Having turned it into ashes, he might scatter it in a strong wind or wash it away in a river with a swift current. Thus the broken roots of that tree whose shadow appeared are uprooted and completely destroyed and in the future will be things that do not arise again. Just exactly so the six *satatavihāra* are attained by the monk whose mind is completely freed.¹

The commentary, the *Manorathapūranī*, finds in the connecting adverb *evam* an opportunity to explain the metaphorical significance of this narrative:

¹ A II 199: *seyyathāpi Vappa thūṇaṃ paṭicca chāyā paññāyati, atha puriso āgaccheyya kudālapitakaṃ ādāya, so taṃ thūṇaṃ mūle chindeyya, mūle chetvā palikhaneyya, palikhanetvā mūlāni uddhareyya antamaso usīranālimattāni pi. so taṃ thūṇaṃ khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ chindeyya, khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ chetvā phāleyya, phāletvā sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ kareyya, sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ karitvā vātātape visoseyya, vātātape visosetvā agginā daheyya, agginā dahitvā masiṃ kareyya, masiṃ katvā, mahāvāte vā opuneyya nadiyā vā siṅhasotāya pavāheyya. evaṃ hi 'ssa Vappa yā thūṇaṃ paṭicca chāyā sā ucchinnamūlā tālāvattthukatā anabhāvakatā āyatim anuppādadhammā. evaṃ eva kho Vappa evaṃ sammāvimutticittassa bhikkhuno cha satatavihāra adhiḡatā honti.*

PTSD defines *satatavihāra* as "a chronic state of life"; PTSD s.v. *satata*, p. 672. They are modes of life limited to those who have destroyed the *āsava*s.

It should be noted that although this narrative resonates with the imagery of the great tree of *kilesas* in the *Nibbānasutta*, its imagery of uprooting roots is in fact more prominent throughout Theravādin literature; for a *locus classicus* of this metaphor, see Dh 338.

*Just exactly so*¹ this is the application of the simile here: individual life is to be known as like the tree (*rukkho*), the *kamma* of good and bad deeds is like the shadow of the tree, the *yogāvacaro* is like the person desiring to put a stop to the shadow, wisdom is like the hoe (*kuddāla*, i.e. *mammata*), concentration is like the basket, insight meditation is like the tool for uprooting (*khaṇṇitti*), the opportunity for destroying ignorance with the path of the *arahant* is like the digging up of the roots with the spade, the opportunity for seeing the influence of the sensory elements is like the the opportunity for breaking up (the whole tree) piece by piece, the opportunity for seeing the influence of the elements of sense-perception is like the opportunity for chopping (the tree), the opportunity for seeing the influence of the physical elements is like the opportunity for splintering (the tree), the opportunity for creating mental and bodily exertion is like the opportunity for drying (the broken parts) in the wind and heat, the burning of the *kilesas* with knowledge is like the burning (the pieces) with fire, the continuing existence of the five *khandhas* is like the making of ashes, the unmendable cessation of the five *khandhas* is like the scattering of the destroyed roots in a great wind or washing them away in the current of a river, and the state of the non-manifestation, without any further arising, of *khandhas* which are the fruits of previous actions in a new birth is to be known as being like the attained condition of non-manifestation because of the scattering (in the wind) and the washing away (in the river).²

¹ The term *evaṃ* is sometimes glossed in the commentaries as being a "term of comparison" (*upamāvacana*); see for example Pj I 208.

² Mp III 179–80: *evaṃ eva kho ti ettha idaṃ opammasaṃsandanaṃ: rukkho viya hi attabhāvo datṭhabbo, rukkhaṃ paṭicca chāyā viya kusalākusalakammaṃ, chāyaṃ appavattaṃ kātukāmo puriso viya yogāvacaro, kuddālo viya paññā,*

In the quotation above, the *Manorathapūranī* names the interpretive strategy which it employs to connect these two passages as *opammasaṃsandānā*.¹ The presence of this same interpretive strategy in the *Nibbānasutta* suggests that its composition may have followed a generic pattern already well-established in earlier texts; that is, the general process at work in the creation of summary texts included the use of models found in other texts. This suggestion finds some confirmation when we look at the serial simile of the “city of Nibbāna” in the *Nibbānasutta* which itself seems to build on patterns already present in the commentaries and other types of Theravādin literature.²

Moreover, as indicated by the passages found in the *Nibbānasutta* which are taken from the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Theragāthā*, the process of creating new texts included the direct use of materials found in older texts. We see a similar use of older material in other allegedly non-canonical suttas, such as the *Tuṇḍilovādasutta* and the *Ākāravattārasutta*.³ Indeed, the process of making new texts out of the materials of older texts seems to have become common in the later Theravāda; we can refer here to such Pāli texts as the *Jinakālamāli*,

piṭakam viya samādhi, khaṇṭṭi viya vipassanā, khaṇṭṭiyā mūlānam palikhaṇanakālo viya arahattamaggena avijjāya chedanakālo, khaṇḍākhandaṃ karanakālo viya khandhavasena diṭṭhakālo, phāḷanakālo viya āyatanavasena diṭṭhakālo, sakalī karanakālo viya dhātuvaseṇa diṭṭhakālo, vātātape visosanakālo viya kāyikacetāsikassa (taking variant reading for kāyikavācasikassa) viriyassa karanakālo, agginā dahanakālo viya nāṇena kilesānam dahanakālo, masikaranakālo viya dharamāṇaka-pañcakkhandhakālo, mahāvāte opunanakālo viya nadīsote pavāhanakālo chinnaṃmūlakānam pañcannaṃ khandhānam appaṭṭisandhikanirodho, opunanapavāhanehi appaṇṇattikabhāvo vedītabbo.

¹ See as well A II 201 and Mp III 181–82; Vism 346; Sv (I) 127.

² For example, Mil 330–45; see as well Bv-a 155–56; Sv (III) 881; Sv-pt III 78.

³ Compare *Tuṇḍilovāda* 176–77 and Bv-a 121; *Tuṇḍilovāda* 186 and Bv-a 121; see Jaini, *Ākāravattārasutta*, 197, 199, 200 note 13, 201 notes 14–15, 209 note 21.

the *Pathamasambodhi*, the *Jinamahānidāna* and the *Saṅgītiyaṃsa*, all composed in Thailand.¹ It should be noted that one result of this process of composing new texts would be a blurring of the distinctions between canonical and non-canonical literature.

An awareness of the special problems which the Theravāda faced in transmitting a systematic, but complex doctrine abstracted from a large and diffuse literary tradition is important for understanding the continuing literary activities of Buddhists in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. This awareness above all allows us to acknowledge the conditions under which new suttas, such as the *Nibbānasutta*, could have been composed and accepted in the Theravāda; it is easy to see that the very idea of a closed canon might well have functioned more as a rhetorical marker than as a strictly closed list in contexts where the canon circulated and was known in its parts rather than as a whole.² But we should be careful not to limit the ramifications of this fact to the admission that “new” texts could probably find some acceptance in such contexts; we could make this admission and still care little for the contents of these individual suttas on the grounds that they seem to add little to the scholarly understanding of the doctrinal orientations of the

¹ *Jinakālamāli* (London: Pali Text Society, 1962), *Jinamahānidāna* (Bangkok: National Library — Fine Arts Department, 1987); *Saṅgītiyaṃsa* (Bangkok: 1926). On the *Pathamasambodhi*, see George Coedès, “Une vie Indochinoise de Buddha: La *Pathamasambodhi*,” in *Mélanges d’Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation indienne, 1968), pp. 217–27. There is some precedent for this process of composition in the Pali Canon itself, most notably in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Anguttara-nikāya*.

² For a discussion of the significance of the idea of a closed canon in the Theravāda, see Steven Collins, “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XV (1990), pp. 89–126; for a discussion of the idea of the *tipiṭaka* functioning as a marker for “orthodoxy,” see François Bizot, *Le figuier a cinq branches* (Paris: École Française d’Extrême Orient, 1976), p. 21. Bizot argues that the term *tipiṭaka* “refers less to a collection of texts than to an ideological concept.”

Theravāda. This would be unfortunate, since their condensed format may in fact display relative emphases of doctrine and practice within the Theravādin traditions which might otherwise be hard to discern.

We have so far noted the elaboration of the metaphor of “the city of Nibbāna” in the *Nibbānasutta* as an illustration of the processes involved in the composition of new texts in the Theravāda. When we turn to the contents of the *Nibbānasutta*, we see that this metaphor is indeed a helpful device for listing and linking a variety of doctrinal items and practices; the different parts of a city are associated with various aspects of Buddhist life. It is thus easy to see that such a metaphor could be conducive to the *Nibbānasutta*'s functional role as a summary of the *Dhamma*. While recognizing this, we should be careful not to ignore the role that such imagery may have had in generating “religio-aesthetic experiences” which would have enriched an understanding of particular doctrinal points and which may have also motivated individuals to practice the Buddhist religious life.¹

As already noted, metaphorical applications of a city to the constituents of Buddhist life have a long history in the Theravāda; examples are found in the *Milinda-pañha* as well as in the *Madhuratthavilāsini*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, and the *Tuṅḍilovādasutta*.² We can find a very pleasant example of such an application in the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*, a thirteenth-century Sinhala translation of the *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, a book which itself was intended to be an instructional aid to those on the way to the city of Nibbāna³:

¹ The possible danger of overlooking the significance of metaphors in “religio-aesthetic experiences” was emphasised to me by P.B. Meegaskumbura. In this regard, it is thus worth noting the prominent place of metaphorical sequences in both the *Ākāravattārasutta* and the *Tuṅḍilovādasutta*.

² Mil 330–45; Bv-a 155–56; Sv (III) 881; Sv-pt III 78; *Tuṅḍilovāda* 192–94.

³ Ranjini Obeyesekere, *Jewels of the Doctrine* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 3.

Thus, having begged for alms in the countryside of the *arahat*, he arrived finally at the city of the Teachings of the King of the Universe, the Enlightened Buddha.

That city had a long wall made of Morality, a moat made of the restraints, Fear and Shame, a city gate of Wisdom, with lintels of Effort, a protective column of Faith, and watchmen of Mindfulness. It had a nine-storied palace of the Nine Spiritual Attainments, four roads of the Fourfold Path going in four directions and the Three Signs, Impermanence, Sorrow, and Soullessness, pointing in the three directions. It had also the Hall of Justice named the “Rules of the Monastic Order” and a royal thoroughfare called “The Path of Mindfulness.” There were market stalls selling the flowers of Higher Knowledge, stalls selling perfumes of Moral Conduct, and fruit stalls selling the Fruits of the Path. There were also stalls selling medicinal preparations of The *Dharmas* of the Thirty-Seven Constituents of Enlightenment¹ for curing the disease of Defilements, and which could destroy Decay and Death. In addition, there were stalls full of the gems of Moral Conduct and Contemplation, which could bring Enlightenment. There was a stall that was filled with the blessings of high status, wealth, long life, good health, good looks, and intelligence; and also the blessings of the human world, the heavenly worlds, the Brahma worlds, and of *nirvāna*.²

¹ I have modified Obeyesekere's translation at this point.

² Obeyesekere, *Jewels of the Doctrine*, p. 207; this is a translation of *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* (Colombo: Sri Lanka Oriental Studies Society, 1985), I.126. This passage obviously owes much to the account of the “City of Righteousness” in Mil 330–45.

Each of these associations between a Buddhist idea or practice and a part of a city could be interpreted, apparently,¹ through a process of comparison which would specify on what basis the two things are juxtaposed in the metaphor; the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* describes this process as asking “What is it like, because of what?”² The *ṭīkā* on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, for example, glosses the simile that *sīla* is like a wall by saying: “*Sīla is like a wall* because it has the nature of protecting completely those who attain it.”³ It is particularly interesting, as a comparison with the similar application of the metaphor in the *Nibbānasutta* displays, that there is no fixed association between the parts of a city and a Buddhist counterpart. For example, the door or gate (*dvāra*) to the city of Nibbāna is variously said to be *sīla*,⁴ *dāna*,⁵ the *ariyamagga*,⁶ and *ñāna*.⁷ This variability is further evidence that the different examples of the serial simile of the city of Nibbāna may be the products of different applications of a common process rather than derivations from a single source.

This variability also suggests that the serial simile might be derivative from and secondary to a more fundamental conventional

¹ I say “apparently” since as I mentioned in the introduction to *Tuṅḍilovādasutta* (p. 163), it is not always self-evident what the similarities between the two juxtaposed elements might be, and most often we are dependent on commentarial glosses to specify the intended similarities.

² Sv (III) 881: *tattha ‘kīṃ kena sadisaṃ’ ti ce ...*. This might be an allusion to the method of instruction mentioned in the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka* (Ja I 448): “eliciting comparisons and reasons” (*upamañ ca kāraṇañ ca kathāpeti*). The method is explicitly used in the *Nibbānasutta* when Nibbāna is compared to the moon, the sun, the earth, a mountain, the ocean.

³ Sv-pt III 78.

⁴ *Tuṅḍilovāda* 177.

⁵ *Tuṅḍilovāda* 174, 193.

⁶ Sv (III) 881; this is a common gloss on the notion of “the door to that without death” (*amataadvāra*) — see MI 353, SI 137, Vin I 5, etc.

⁷ *Nibbānasutta*, see p. 122 below.

metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, which itself is linked to the conventional metaphor of Nibbāna as a “place”. In this regard, quite significantly, the contents of the *Nibbānasutta* help us to understand and thus to appreciate better the cognitive import of this conventional metaphor which is found throughout much of Theravādin literature, including Buddhaghosa’s commentaries. On the basis of what can be seen in the *Nibbānasutta*, we may be able to avoid the temptation to dismiss a common image of this sort as an over-used “literary ornament” or “figure of speech”, since we see in this text that it may not actually function as such. Rather, we can see that such common images are probably better understood as “conventional metaphors”, part of the normal ways that Buddhists talk about, conceive and even experience their own situations.¹

When the *Nibbānasutta*, using the method just mentioned, compares Nibbāna to a collection of good things (*sudhammā*), on the grounds that both are collocations or combinations (*samodhāna*), it makes a point which is quite relevant to understanding the image of a city as a metaphor for Nibbāna. In this context, we can recall that a city is sometimes defined on the basis of its combining a physical layout with buildings, and inhabitants,² and with this in mind, we can see that it is

¹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 51. In a related vein, see the valuable discussion of one important set of images and their relations with the *anattā* doctrine in the Theravāda by Steven Collins in *Selfless Persons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), and more generally, see Diana Eck, “The Dynamics of Indian Symbolism,” *The Other Side of God*, edited by Peter L. Berger (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981), pp. 157–81.

² See, for example, Bv-a 66–67 (on Bv IIA 3–4): “(3) The City was complete in all respects. It engaged in every industry, (4) was possessed of the seven kinds of treasures, crowded with all kinds of people; prosperous as a deva-city, it was a dwelling place for doers of merit. Therein *complete in all respects* means: possessed of all the constituent parts of a city, with city gateways, halls and so forth. ...” (I.B. Horner, translator, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning* (London:

significant that the serial simile specifies not only the buildings of the city, but the flocks of birds (i.e. the city's inhabitants, the arahants, etc.) which frequent it.¹ We can also recall that a traditional gloss of a city is that it is *rakkhāvaraṇagutti*: it protects, shuts out, and provides security.² Thus we might conclude that the significance of the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna lies less in its individual parts, which we have seen can have varying associations, but rather in its being a general picture which defines Nibbāna as something with both form, coherence, and function.³ This insight is applicable to the use of the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna scattered throughout Theravādin literature.

Although the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna occurs frequently in commentarial and post-commentarial Theravādin literature,⁴ it apparently does not occur in those parts of the canon

Pali Text Society, 1978), pp. 99–100. For a similar definition of a city, see Totagamuve Sri Rahula, *Pañcīkāpradīpaya*, edited by R. Tennakoon (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1962), p. 359.

¹ See the pictorial representation of Nibbāna, which includes both a tank and attending birds, in the illustration from the *Traibhūmikathā*, found in *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, translated by Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Series, 1982).

² This gloss was told to me by P.B. Meegaskumbura.

³ For a similar use of this city metaphor with respect to diligence in the religious life, see DhP-a III 488, on DhP 315. See as well the “Nagaropamasuttanta” at A IV 106–13 and Mp IV 53–66.

⁴ It may also be properly said that the metaphor predates the commentaries, since it is found at Mil 333. Moreover, the metaphor occurs in non-Theravādin literature; see Dieter Schlingloff (ed.): *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 162R5 (p. 169); J. Duncan M. Derrett, *A Textbook for Novices: Jayaraksita's “Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana”* (Turin: Pubblicazioni di “Indologica Taurinensia”, 1983), p. 17; E.H. Johnston (ed.), *The Saundarananda of Āśvaghoṣa* (Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidass, 1975), p. 106; R.E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1990), p. 24 [*amrtapura*]; R.E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 153, 303, 317, 421; Giotto Canevascini, *The Khotanese Saṅghātasūtra* (Ph.D. Dissertation,

which are usually considered to be early, that is the Vinaya and the four Nikāyas. The metaphor coheres, however, with another conventional metaphor in the canon — that conditions and experiences are places (*thāna*), and thus I do not think that there would be anything automatically controversial or objectionable about it as a piece of imagery.¹ Without speculating about the actual origins of the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, we can at least say that it may have been used as an image because it evoked and elaborated the conventional metaphor of Nibbāna as a place, which is found in the canon. Furthermore, the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna was apparently grounded in the canon by commentators' reinterpreting canonical references to cities as references to the city of Nibbāna. For example, Sāriputta uses a simile of a border city and its watchman to convey his limited knowledge of the Buddha's maximal greatness in the *Sampasādaniyasutta* and in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*; this simile is glossed in Buddhaghosa's

University of Hamburg, 1992), p. 213. Analogous applications of the metaphor of a city are also found in medieval Indian Buddhist inscriptions; see the references to *muktipura* (thirteenth century) found at Grosrawa (*Indian Antiquary* 17 [1888], p. 310); to *jinapura* (thirteenth century) found at Bodhgaya (*Indian Antiquary* 10 [1881], p. 342); and to *praśāmapura* (fifth century) found at Ajanta (Ghulam Yazdani, *Ajanta* [Delhi: Swat Publications, 1983] Pt IV, p. 115). The metaphor is also found in the Chinese translation of the Dharmaguptaka version of the *Mahāparinirvānasūtra*; see André Bareau, *En suivant Buddha* (Paris: Lebaud, 1985), p. 289. This text apparently takes “entering the city of *nirvāna*” as referring to *parinirvāna*. The diversity of these examples suggests at least that the metaphor of the city of *nirvāna* was in common usage among the different Buddhist traditions. I wish to thank Gregory Schopen for bringing the inscriptional, Āśvaghoṣa, and Dharmaguptaka examples to my attention.

¹ As the entry on “*nibbāna*” in the PTSD says: Nibbāna “is a reality, and its characteristic features may be described, may be grasped in terms of earthly language, in terms of space (as this is the only means at our disposal to describe abstract notions of time and mentality)”; PTSD, s.v. *nibbāna*, p. 362b. See as well PTSD, s.v. *thāna*.

commentary as referring to the city of Nibbāna.¹ The *ṭikā* to this passage then uses the metaphor to extend understanding and insight through the same process of comparing and giving reasons we have already noted: “*Nibbāna is like a city* because it is to be approached by those seeking it, and because it is the condition (*thāna*) of the attainment of *sukha* without any dangers for those who reach it.”²

We can gain some further understanding of the connotations of the metaphor as a whole if we look at two different uses of the image of the city in the *Dhammapada Atthakathā*. The first compares the mind to a city and comments on the stanza, “Securing this mind as a citadel.”³

As a city: A city having a deep moat, encircled by a wall, containing gates and watchtowers, is firm from outside; inside, it is fitted out with well-apportioned streets, squares, crossroads, and shopping areas. Thieves come from without, saying, “Let us loot it!” [But] being unable to enter, [they] remain as if confronting, and being checked by, a [mighty] rock. As one standing in the city [attacks such] a horde of robbers with many kinds of weaponry — single-edged [weapons], and so on — in exactly the same way, *securing*: making firm his “insight-mind”, as if it were a citadel ...⁴

The second application of the city metaphor in the *Dhammapada* compares the body to a shed for storing grain which in turn is said to be a city, in part because it is constructed with various

¹ Sv (III) 881. The commentary on the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* refers readers to this gloss; Sv (II) 538. For similar incidental glosses using the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, see Ap-a 291 (on verse 133); Bv-a 155; Vv-a 284.

² Sv-ṭ III 78.

³ Dh 40: *nagarūpamaṃ cittam idaṃ thapetvā*.

⁴ John Ross Carter and Mahinda Palihawadana, translators, *The Dhammapada*, (New York: Oxford, 1987), p. 128.

parts, and also because such a shed is a “protected structure.”¹ We see in these two uses of the metaphor associations which are obviously shared with the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna. First, all three applications apparently assume that a city is defined by its various constituent parts, arranged in an ordered whole which is “firm from outside,” that is a stable and independent condition in its own right. The image also portrays Nibbāna as a pleasing place inside. This holistic image would seem, then, to lend considerable coherence to a theoretical vision of Nibbāna and its connection to Buddhist soteriological practices.

Finally, I would like to note that the image of the city of Nibbāna could suggest a continuum between Nibbāna and the possible forms of rebirth found in *saṃsāra*. The same conventional metaphor that “defines” existential conditions as “places” (*thāna*), which we have already seen with reference to Nibbāna, was also used with respect to some forms of rebirth which are possible in *saṃsāra*. Heavens, above all, are defined as cities.² This homology between heavens and Nibbāna as “cities” creates, in turn, a double relation between Nibbāna and *saṃsāra*. On the one hand, they are still different kinds of things, and are thus best understood doctrinally as opposed to one another, as when we contrast *asankhata* Nibbāna with *sankhata* *saṃsāra*, or when we contrast the *sukha* of Nibbāna with the *dukkha* of *saṃsāra*. On the other hand, heavens as “cities” could also be construed as merely, even if immeasurably, different in degree from the “City of Nibbāna.” As the

¹ Dh 150; Carter and Palihawadana, p. 217.

² See, for example, S IV 202; Vv-a 285; Ja I 47, 49, 52; *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, pp. 218, 223–35, 250. The realm of the dead is also sometimes compared to a city or even called a city: *yamapura*; see *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, p. 68 and W.F. Gunawardhana, *Guttala Kāvya Varṇanā* (Colombo: Lake House, 1962), p. 208 (verse 317). For a discussion of the symbolism of the royal city in the Sinhala Buddhist pantheon, see Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 50–56.

Traibhūmikathā, a fourteenth-century Thai-language cosmological treatise, says: "The treasure of Nibbāna brings a high degree of pleasure, happiness, and tranquility; nothing can be found to equal it."¹ This sequence of images of cities may lie behind the location of Nibbāna at the pinnacle of a cosmological hierarchy as has been frequently noted in ethnographic studies of contemporary Theravādin Buddhism.

The manuscript utilized here is now kept in the collections of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Paris under the reference number EFEO Pali 30. It is a short manuscript, four *ola* leaves in length, and is written in the *mūl* script. It contains two texts: the *Nibbānasutta*, and a fragment of another text called the *Jarāsutta*. A covering leaf is inscribed: *bra mahānagarānibbānasūtravaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā / buddhassa parinibbānato aṭṭhapaññāsādhike catusatadvesahassame byagghasamvacchare siṅgesena (?) likkhāmi tamidam*. The alternative title given here, *Mahānagarānibbānasuttavaṇṇanā*, specifies what may have been taken as the main point of the text, the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna; I have followed this covering-leaf's example in the title of this paper. Given the blurring between canonical and non-canonical literature which we noted above, it is significant that the title given here and at the end of the text seems to suggest that it is a commentary (*vaṇṇanā*) on a sutta.²

If the covering-leaf title, *Mahānagarānibbānasuttavaṇṇanā*, is a true alternative title for this text, then it may provide some evidence that the text was composed in Thailand or Cambodia, since the *tappurisa* compound of the city of Nibbāna is formed in the manner standard in Thai and Khmer, rather than in the manner more commonly found in classical Pali (i.e. *Nibbānanagara*).³ There is nothing about the language

¹ *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, p. 329.

² A similar alternation between *sutta* and *vaṇṇanā* is found in the *Ākāravattārasutta*; see Jaini, *Ākāravattārasutta*, 194, 209.

³ I would like to thank Professor Oskar von Hinüber for pointing this out to me.

or contents of the text which allows us to suggest even a probable date of composition.¹

We can say more about the manuscript than the text. Given the origins of the collection at the École Française d'Extrême Orient, it seems probable that this manuscript was prepared in Cambodia. Moreover, the inscription on the covering leaf gives some valuable information about the date of the preparation of the manuscript. Despite a persistent problem² with the Pali here, we may translate this last passage as providing a date for the copying of the manuscript: "I wrote this in the year of the tiger, two thousand four hundred fifty eight years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha." If we take 544 B.C.E. as the traditional date for the parinibbāna of the Buddha in Southeast Asia, this would give us a date for the manuscript about the year 1914–15 C.E.³ The dating according to the Buddhist Era seems to agree with the dating to the year of the Tiger in the twelve-year cycle. At the end of the manuscript the scribe has given his name and expressed his aspiration in

¹ Given that the linguistic variations found in this text, such as the suppression of geminate consonants, are also common in Southeast Asian Pali, it seems unlikely to me that such "irregularities" could be used as satisfactory evidence to establish a text's date.

² I am unable to make any sense of *siṅgesena*, although perhaps it further specifies the date of copying the manuscript, with the date written in a system like "the so-called *ka-ṭa-pa-ya* system" found in Sri Lankan and Burmese manuscripts; for references to this system of writing numbers, see *Burmese Manuscripts* Part 1, compiled by Heinz Bechert, Daw Khin Khin Su, and Daw Tin Tin Myint (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1979), pp. XIX–XX. This sentence appears in a number of other manuscripts in the collections of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Paris with some variation in the spelling of this word; see the covering leaves to EFEO Pali 28, *Rathasenajātaka* (*saṅgesena*), EFEO Pali 31, *Arabhimbajātaka* (*sijesena*), EFEO Pali 32, and *Candasenajātaka* (*sijesena*).

³ For some brief comments on the reckoning of dates in "Cambodian" manuscripts, see C.E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts*, (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1983), p. xvi.

copying the manuscript: “*Ahaṃ Indujotaṃ likkhitāṃ Buddhasāsane Buddho homi anāgate.*” The notion of becoming a Buddha in the *Buddhasāsana* is intriguing, although the aspiration to become a Buddha is quite frequent in manuscript colophons in Sri Lanka.¹

My attempts to find another copy of the text have not met with any success. The *Nibbānasutta* does not seem to be among the Cambodian manuscripts which have been copied by the Cornell University preservation project in Phnom Penh.² Although a text of the same title is listed by Louis Finot in his survey of manuscript holdings in Laos, Finot’s note seems to suggest that this text was related to the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*.³ George Cœdès has described a Lao-language text with the title *Nibbānasutta* in his catalogue of manuscripts in the Royal Library at Copenhagen; from his description, it does not seem likely that this text is a translation of the Pali *Nibbānasutta* with which we are concerned here.⁴ There are three texts with a very similar title listed in the *Catalogue of Palm-leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University 1978–86*, but I have not been able to compare these texts with the

¹ This aspiration is very common in the manuscripts found in the Nevill Collection in the British Library. See, for examples chosen almost at random, the eighteenth century copy of the *Dhammapada Sanne* (Or. 6600[52]) and the nineteenth century copy of the *Aggikkhandopama Sutta Pada Ānuma* (Or. 6599[6]), found in Somadasa, pp. 21, 110.

² I would like to thank Dr. Judy Ledgerwood for her kind assistance in checking whether the *Nibbānasutta* was among the texts microfilmed by the Cornell University Project.

³ Finot, p. 194.

⁴ Cœdès, p. 66. Cœdès, it should be noted, was hardly impressed by this text, and described it as “un discours assez banal.” It apparently includes an account of some rich merchants being freed from the *preta* world and ascending to a *devaloka* from hearing that *sutta*, something which is completely missing from the text edited here.

manuscript transcribed here.¹ The title does not appear in K.D. Somadasa’s survey of the manuscript holdings of Sri Lankan temple libraries.²

Since this is a first and necessarily provisional edition of the text, I have only attempted to transcribe accurately the manuscript available to me. I have made no emendations in the text as it is found in the manuscript, but I have given alternative readings in the notes in order to make some sense of the Pali or to clarify the Pali by comparison with the better known forms of classical Pali. Some of these clarifications are merely for the convenience of the reader since the text itself is quite consistent in its own usage, even if it is irregular by the standards of classical Pali, as for example with the creation or suppression of consonant geminates (such as *-ññ-* which are normally written *-ñ-* here).³ The edition provides numbers for each leaf (1a–1b, etc.), but also includes the letter-sequencers (*ka-kī*) given in the manuscript itself.

NIBBĀNASUTTA

[1a (ka)] Evam me sutāṃ. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Savatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍakassa ārāme. Tasmim kho Bhagavā bhikkhūnā⁴ āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasom.⁵

¹ *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University 1978–86* (Chiang Mai: Social Research Institute, 1988), p. 124: s.v. *Nibbānasutta*. I would like to thank Professor Oskar von Hinüber for bringing the existence of these texts to my attention.

² K.D. Somadasa, *Lankāvē Puskola Pot Nāmāvaliya* (Colombo: Cultural Department, 1959).

³ See note 1 on p. 98 above.

⁴ Read *bhikkhūnam*.

⁵ Read as *paccasosom*; on the suppression of geminates in *mūl* manuscripts, see Martini, p. 371, and Terral, pp. 312–13.

- PK = *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra, ed. Muralīdhara Miśra, vol. 2, Varanasi, 1977. Ref. to page.
- Rangacharya, M. (ed.): 1916, *The Rūpavatāra of Dharmakīrti*, vol. 1, Madras.
- RAS = The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Renou, L.: 1957, "Kaccāyana et le Kātantra", in *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes* 3, Paris, pp. 127–33.
- Scharfe, H.: 1977, *Grammatical literature*, Wiesbaden.
- SK = *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, ed. with the *Bālamānoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendrasarasvatī by Girīdhara Śarmā Caturveda etc., 4 vols., Varanasi, 1958–61. Ref. to vol. and page.
- Smith, H. (ed.): 1928, *Saddanīti: la grammaire palie d'Aggavaṃsa: I Padamālā, II Dhātumālā, III Suttamālā*, Lund.
- : 1949–66, *id.*: IV–V, 2 Tables, Lund.
- Tin Lwin: 1991 (?), "The Saddanīti", in *Salutation Volume in Honour of Mingun Sayadaw's 80th Birthday*, Rangoon, pp. 117–26. [Bibl. information incomplete.]
- Turner, V.: 1973, "Pali phāsu- and dāṭṭa-", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36: pp. 424–24.
- VP = Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, ed. W. Rau, Wiesbaden, 1977.
- vt. = *vārttika*.
- Warder, A.K.: 1963, *Introduction to Pali*, PTS London.
- : 1967, *Pāli metre*, PTS London.

WHY IS A KHATTIYA CALLED A KHATTIYA ? THE AGGAÑÑA SUTTA REVISITED

In a recent article¹ I have argued that the myth of the origin of society presented in the *Aggañña Sutta*² (AS) is satirical, and that the satire is based on Vedic texts. There is another instance of this which unfortunately I noticed too late to include it in that article.

The myth purports to account for the names of the four *vanṇa*, using etymological derivations which, I argued, parody the etymologies (*nirukti*) found in the brahminical texts (where they reveal to initiates the hidden nature of things). The word *khattiya* is said (p. 93, para. 21) to originate from the expression *khettānam pati*, "lord/owner of the fields". This seems a less than perfect fit to the story that has led up to it: the first ruler has been agreed on (*sammata*) to keep order, in exchange for which service he is to receive a share of the rice crop, but there is no suggestion that he will own the fields.

In the brahminical ceremony of royal consecration, the *rājasūya*, the anointing (*abhiṣeka*) of the king is performed to the accompaniment of several *mantras*. One of these sacred formulae is either *ṣatrāṇam ṣatrapatir asi*, "Thou art the power-lord of the powers", or the same in the imperative: *ṣatrāṇam ṣatrapatir edhi*, "Be thou the power-lord of the powers". The AS has parodistically turned *ṣatra*, powers, into *ṣetra*, fields: further evidence for my theory that the Buddhist text is based on knowledge of brahminical texts, and satirises them.

The *rājasūya mantra* is found in at least five brahminical texts which might be as old as the AS: the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*,³ the *Taittirīya*

¹ "The Buddha's Book of Genesis ?", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35, 1992, pp. 159–78.

² *Dīgha Nikāya sutta* xxvii, in the PTS edition Vol. III, pp. 80–98.

³ 1,8,14h. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra*, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri and K. Rangacharya, Delhi 1986 (original ed. *Mysore Govt. Oriental Library Series* 1895), Vol. III, p. 183.

Brāhmaṇa,⁴ the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁵ the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*⁶ and the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*.⁷ (Of these, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* alone has the imperative version⁸; the others have *asi*.) Is there any evidence to suggest which of these was the Buddha's source? (Or the source of the Buddhist author, if we hesitate to ascribe authorship to the Buddha.) Since my article showed a reference in the AS to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* constitutes the last part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the latter must be the strongest candidate. Moreover, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is generally assigned to the relatively eastern part of Vedic India where the Buddha preached. Acquaintance with one Vedic text or tradition would of course not disprove acquaintance with others too. In my article I drew attention to a relationship between AS para. 22 and the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, though in that case the brahminical text shows awareness of Buddhists.

It is in the very next sentence after the one giving this etymology of *khattiya* that the word *rājā* is derived from the phrase *dhammena pare rañjēti*, "he pleases others by righteousness". This new discovery bolsters my contention that that was intended as a joke.

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⁴ 1,7,8,5. *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, ed. Rājendralāla Mitra, *Bibliotheca Indica* 125, Calcutta 1859, Vol. I, p. 149.

⁵ 5,4,2,2. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [Mādhyandina recension], ed. Albrecht Weber, Berlin 1855, p. 460.

⁶ 12,11. *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, ed. W. Caland, *Bibliotheca Indica* 1196, Vol. 2, fascicle 2, Calcutta 1908, p. 101,17.

⁷ 18,16,6. *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, ed. R. Garbe, Calcutta 1902, Vol. III, p. 96,2.

⁸ No Pali equivalent of the imperative form *edhi* exists. This could conceivably be why the phrase in the AS has no verb, but I doubt that it is relevant.

PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES X¹

TWO PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here are two more words which are either omitted from PED,² or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. *samā* "year"

PED gives two meanings for *samā*: "year" (< Skt *samā*) and "pyre" in *agginisamā* (Sn 668 670). The second of these seems to be an error, since it is more likely to be the word *sama* "like". For the first meaning PED quotes Dhṛp 106 and Mhv VII 74 (misprinted as 78). It also occurs in the latter text at II 30, III 1 and V 120 (and probably elsewhere). Dhṛp-a seems to understand the meaning correctly, since it glosses: *yo yajetha satam saman ti yo vassasatam māse māse sahasam pariccajanto lokiyamahājanassa dānam dadeyya* (II 231,8–10), although the interpretation was probably helped by the presence of *vassasatam hutam* later in the same verse. There seems to be no doubt about the meaning in Mhv-t. At Mhv-t 137,25 (ad Mhv II 30) *samā* is glossed *samvaccharā*, at 215,25 (ad Mhv V 120) *aṭṭhārasasamo* is glossed *aṭṭhārasavassiko*, and at 267,12 (ad Mhv VII 74) *samā khalu aṭṭhatimsā* is glossed *aṭṭhatims' eva samvacchare*. At 140,20–21 (ad Mhv III 1) the word is not glossed, but the cty clearly understands the structure of the compound (misleadingly divided in Mhv) and the word crisis, since it glosses: *pañcacattāḷīsamāsamo ti ettha hi pañcacattāḷīsamā asamo ti padacchedo hoti*.

¹ See K.R. Norman, "Pāli Lexicographical Studies IX", in *JPTS*, XVI, pp.77–85.

² Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli and Sanskrit texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS's *Pali-English Dictionary*; Skt = Sanskrit; cty/cties = commentary/ commentaries.

THE RITUAL OBLIGATIONS AND DONOR ROLES OF MONKS IN THE PĀLI VINAYA

More than once recently it has again been suggested that Buddhist monks had little or no role in life-cycle ceremonies in early India.¹ I do not know on what these suggestions are based, but it does not seem that it could be the Pāli texts. In fact, Buddhist *Vinaya* texts in Pāli, Sanskrit, and what G. Roth calls "Prākṛit-cum-Sanskrit" seem to suggest quite otherwise. They seem to suggest and assume that monks regularly had a role in such ceremonies and that their ritual presence and performance at such ceremonies was of some importance. Most passages, indeed, employ a language which suggests "obligation" (*karaṇīya*). The same texts suggest and assume that Buddhist monks were active donors to their own monastic community.

Ironically, the one "life-cycle" ceremony in which a significant place for monks has been explicitly conceded — the funeral — is also the one which is not explicitly included in the list of such moments that occurs in the passage of the Pāli *Vinaya* which seems most concerned with such things. But though the funeral is not there explicitly mentioned, the text may allude at least to death rituals as Edgerton

¹ H. Bechert & R. Gombrich, eds., *The World of Buddhism: Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Society and Culture*, (London: 1984), p. 14; R. Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism. A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, (London: 1988), p. 124. That these sorts of remarks represent the received wisdom probably does not require documentation. Similar — if not stronger — suggestions have also been frequently made in regard even to monks' participation in more specifically "Buddhist" ritual and cult practice, but see now G. Schopen, "Monks and the Relic Cult in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*: An Old Misunderstanding in Regard to Monastic Buddhism", in *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion in Honor of Jan Yün-hua*, eds. G. Schopen & K. Shinohara, (Oakville: 1991), pp. 187–201.

sometime ago seemed to surmise: it speaks of “illness” (*gilāna*), and the illness in question seems to be — to judge by context — terminal.¹

The passage in the Pāli *Vinaya* occurs in the *Vassupanāyika-khandhaka*, the section dealing with the “beginning of the rains.” In the Pali Text Society edition, the only one available to me, this passage is rather badly chopped up in an apparent attempt — on whose part I do not know, whether editor or scribe — to abbreviate repetitions. It deals in general with the occasions or situations in regard to which a monk can legitimately break the rain-retreat during which he was otherwise strictly forbidden to travel. One of these reasons — but only one — has been widely cited: a monk may be away for up to seven days if he goes to learn from a lay-brother (*upāsaka*) a “recognized *sūtra*” (*abhiññātaṃ ... suttantaṃ*) which would otherwise be in danger of being lost. There are, however, a number of other equally legitimate reasons.²

The enumeration of these reasons begins — in I. B. Horner’s translation — as follows:

This is a case, monks, where a dwelling-place for an Order comes to have been built by a layfollower (*idha pana bhikkhave upāsakena saṃghaṃ uddissa vihāro kārāpito hoti*). If he should send a messenger to monks, saying: “Let the revered sirs come, I want to give a gift and to hear *dhamma* and to see the monks” (*āgacchantu bhaddantā, icchāmi dānañ ca dātuṃ dhammañ ca*

¹ F. Edgerton, “The Hour of Death. Its Importance for Man’s Future Fate in Hindu and Western Religions”, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* 8.3, (1926–27), p. 234; for the participation of monks in monastic funerals in both the Pāli and, especially, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayas* see G. Schopen, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20, (1992), pp. 1–39.

² All the Pāli citations below come from H. Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. I, (London: 1879), pp. 139–42; the translations are from I.B. Horner, *The Book of The Discipline*, Vol. IV, (London: 1951), pp. 185–89.

sotaṃ bhikkhū ca passitun ti), you should go, monks, if you are sent for (*pahita*) and if the business (*karaṇīya*) can be done in seven days, but not if you are not sent for (I 139,27; IV 186,16).

This is followed by a long list of other kinds of buildings — including “bathrooms” — and other kinds of constructions (“a lotus pond”) which a lay-brother has built for “an order,” or “for several monks” or “for one monk,” etc., in regard to which the same instructions are given. Since in these cases the order or the monks are the recipients of that which had been constructed it is perhaps not remarkable that their presence on these occasions was considered important enough to justify breaking the rain-retreat. The same, however, will not account for their presence on other occasions.

The passage continues:

This is a case, monks, where a dwelling comes to have been built by a lay follower for himself (*idha pana bhikkhave upāsakena attano atthāya nivesanaṃ kārāpitaṃ hoti*) ... a sleeping room (*sayanighara*) ... a stable (*uddosita*) ... a hall in the bathroom ... a lotus pond ... a shed ... a park ... (I 140,27; IV 187,22).

This list — an abbreviation of an already abbreviated text — is much longer and contains almost every conceivable kind of construction of a domestic sort. Here there is no question of these things being presented to the monks. They are explicitly said to have been made for the lay-brother himself. The monks in these cases cannot be there as recipients, and their presence must have been sought, and allowed, for other purposes. Since the text expresses the lay-brothers request using the formula “I want to give a gift and to hear *dhamma* and to see the

monks”, it would seem reasonable to assume that not just here — but even in the prior cases where the monks were the intended recipients — the reason for the monks presence was essentially ritualistic. It would appear that the text is allowing as legitimate and requiring the presence of the monks at a ceremony of some sort that marked the completion — the verbal form is *kārāpita* — of the construction of all sorts of domestic structures owned by laymen at which they would receive gifts and recite religious texts. It is, in fact, hard to interpret the text otherwise. But two further points should be noted: it appears to have been assumed by the redactors of the text that monks would regularly receive such requests, and that their compliance with such requests was important enough to justify their temporary absence from the rain retreat.

If what we see here looks very much like sanctioned and assumed monastic participation in domestic “house-dedication” rituals of the kind frequently found in traditional cultures, then what follows in the passage can only further the impression. To the list of “house-dedications” the text then adds at least three other occasions of traditional domestic ritual:

This is the case, monks, where a dwelling comes to have been built by a layfollower for himself ... a sleeping room ... a park ... , or there comes to be his son’s marriage (*puttassa vā vāreyyam hoti*), or there comes to be his daughter’s marriage (*dhītuyā vā vāreyyam hoti*), or he becomes ill (*gilāno vā hoti*) ... (I 140,35; IV 188,3).

In each of these cases — as in those that precede — monks, if requested through the formulaic request, are to go. Since the reason or occasion that immediately follows concerns the preservation of “recognized *sūtras*” which are in danger of being lost, and since no distinction is made between it and the marriages of sons or daughters, for example, it

would seem that the redactors of the *Theravāda-vinaya* considered the latter to have the same importance as the former, or that the presence of monks at weddings was as important as the preservation of *sūtras*. It is, moreover, difficult to avoid the impression that this passage presupposes something like a “client” relationship between monks and lay-brothers. That there was some sense of obligation in this relationship seems virtually certain: the text does not say the monk *may* go, but that — if sent for and if it can be accomplished in seven days — he *must* go (*gantabba*).

The clarity of the text here renders elaborate discussion, I think, unnecessary. That the redactors of this *Vinaya* assumed and insisted on monastic presence at, and participation in, a whole series of purely domestic or life-cycle rituals seems all but self-evident. Our passage is not simply of interest for its clear articulation of a set of ritual obligations bearing on Buddhist monks, however, because it also assumes that requests for the ritual presence of monks will not be made only by laymen. It goes on to enumerate in very nearly the same language another series of individuals who have dwelling places and monasteries built for the order and themselves, and who also request the ritual presence of the monks on such occasions:

This is a case, monks, where a dwelling place ... a site for a monastery for an order ... for several monks ...: for him- (her-) self is built by a monk ... a nun ... a probationer ... a novice ... (*idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhunā saṅgham uddissa, bhikkhuniyā saṅgham uddissa ... attano atthāya vihāro kārāpito hoti*). If he (she) should send a messenger to monks, saying: “Let the revered sirs (masters) come. I want to give a gift and to hear *dhamma* and to see the monks,” you should go, monks, if you are sent for and if the business can be done in seven days ... (I 141,31; IV 189,11).

Here, too, I think, the text has an elegant clarity. The redactors of our passage could only have assumed and taken very much for granted that — exactly as laymen — monks, nuns, “probationers” (*sikkhamāna*), and novices (*sāmaṇera*), all had monasteries and monastic buildings regularly constructed both for the order and for themselves, and — again like laymen — had on such occasions need for the ritual presence of fellow monks. The text does not rule on, but assumes, that monks and nuns can and do act as major donors. We need not again belabour the fact that this kind of assumption on the part of the redactors of the *Theravāda-vinaya* fits awkwardly, if at all, in the picture of monastic Buddhism found in our handbooks, but very nicely with the actions of monks and nuns recorded in Indian inscriptions.¹ The role of monks in domestic rituals also is not a common-place in modern presentations of monastic Buddhism. The apparent discordancy — since we prefer so often the pictures in our *own* books — might suggest some suspicion in regard to the present passage, or that it is just another aberration peculiar to the Pāli *Vinaya*.² That such suspicions are unfounded seems to follow from two further quite different texts.

The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* found at Gilgit has a section — the *Varṣāvastu* — that corresponds in the main to the Pāli

¹ See G. Schopen, “Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism”, *T’oung Pao* 70, (1984), pp. 110–26; Schopen, “Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and Doctrines of the Transference of Merit”, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 10, (1985), pp. 9–47; Schopen, “On Monks, Nuns and ‘Vulgar’ Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism”, *Artibus Asiae* 49, 1–2, (1988–89), pp. 153–68; etc.

² The presence in the Pāli canonical *Vinaya* of rules governing the obligatory presence of monks at weddings, for example, is particularly intriguing in light of what has recently been said about the modern “change” and “transformation” of Buddhism in Sri Lanka; see R. Gombrich & G. Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed. Religious Change in Sri Lanka*, (Princeton: 1988), pp. 265–73; H.L. Seneviratne, *Rituals of the Kandyan State*, (Cambridge: 1978), p. 129; etc.

Vassupanāyika-khandhaka. There is as well in the Gilgit *Varṣāvastu* a long passage which corresponds to the Pāli passage cited above which enumerates the occasions on which the monks may legitimately be away during the rain-retreat. Both the enumeration and language here are similar to what occurs in the Pāli *Vinaya*, but by no means the same. The *Varṣāvastu* passage starts with a list of obligations (*karaṇīya*) owed to *upāsakas* or lay-brothers. Unfortunately the description of the very first of the occasions on which a monk must go when sent for by a layman involves a textual — and perhaps lexical — problem which I cannot solve. It is, however, virtually certain that it had something to do with the marriage of the lay-brother.¹ I therefore cite what is in fact the last occasion enumerated to give an example of the formulaic character of the language used in this text:

There is moreover a further obligation to a lay-brother (*upāsakasya karaṇīyam*). It may occur that a lay-brother has a sickness, suffering, a serious illness. He will send a messenger

¹ N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, pt. IV, (Calcutta: 1950), 138.9 prints the text as follows: *kim upāsakasya karaṇīyena / yathāpi tad upāsakasya gr̥ha-kalatram̐ pratyupasthitam̐ bhavati ātmano veṣṭanam̐ ... sa bhikṣūnām̐ dūtam̐ anupreṣayati ...* . On at least two occasions immediately prior to this passage a householder is described in similar terms: *tatra ... gr̥hapatih̐ prativasati / tasya gr̥ha-kalatram̐ pratyupasthitam̐ / ātmano veṣṭanam̐ ...* (136.15; 137.13; see also 140.22). Unfortunately in all these cases the manuscript seems to read not *gr̥ha-kalatram̐*, but *gr̥ha-kanutram̐* (R. Vira & L. Chandra, *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*, Part 6, (New Delhi: 1974), 733.8; 734.3; 734.7; 736.1), and I do not know what *-kanutram̐* means. I suspect that Dutt also did not and — as he so often did — silently “corrected” the text on the basis of the Tibetan: *dge bsnyen gyi bya ba gang zhe na / ’di ltar yang dge bsnyen gyis khyim du rang gi ’ching ba bag ma blangs te / (The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur, Vol. I, (Leh: 1979), 692.2; cf. 689.2; 690.6; 696.1)*. Although, again, I do not fully understand the phrase *khyim du rang gi ’ching ba*, the Tibetan text has certainly understood its text to be referring to the lay-brothers’ marriage.

to the monks (saying) “Will the Venerable Ones give a recitation” (*āryā vācam dāsyanti*). A monk should go, having been authorized for seven days, through this obligation to a lay-brother (*gantavyam bhikṣunā saptāham adhiṣṭhāya upāsakasya karaṇīyena*).¹

The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, like the *Vinaya* of the Theravāda, assumes, then, and requires the presence of monks at certain lay, domestic “life-cycle” ceremonies. It does not list all the same occasions, however, referring explicitly only to marriage and serious, if not terminal, illness. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* does not seem to refer to “house dedication” rituals; it certainly does not contain the long list of different kinds of structures found in the Pāli. But it does contain some of the same occasions found in the Pāli that are more specifically “Buddhist.” It refers, for example, to a lay-brother having a *vihāra* constructed, although here too it uses a different language: “It may occur that a lay-brother wishes to have erected a monastery for the community of monks from the four directions” (*yathāpi tad upāsakaś cāturdīśe bhikṣu-saṃghe vihāraṃ pratiṣṭhāpayitu-kāmo bhavati*). It also lists a number of more specifically “Buddhist” occasions not found in the Pāli *Vinaya*: a lay-brother “desiring to donate bedding and seats to that monastery” (... *asminn eva vihāre śayanāsanam anupradātukāmo bhavati*), “wanting to designate a permanent alms giving” in it (... *asminn eva vihāre dhruva-bhikṣām prajñāpayitukāmo bhavati*), and, interestingly, “wanting to have erected a *stūpa* for the body of the Tathāgata in that monastery” (... *tasminn eva vihāre tathāgatasya śarīra-stūpaṃ pratiṣṭhāpayitu-kāmo bhavati*).² In all of these cases — as in the case of marriage and illness — if the monks are sent for, and if they can

¹ Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 140.17.

² Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 138.14–139.11.

return within seven days, they are of course required to go. One of such occasions, however, may be particularly important because we may be able to connect it with a record that can be much more securely placed in time and place.

The Gilgit text gives one of the more specifically Buddhist occasions in the following form:

There is moreover a further obligation to a lay-brother. It may occur that a lay-brother wants to donate the raising of a staff on that *stūpa*, the raising of an umbrella, the raising of a flag, the raising of a banner ... he sends a messenger to the monks ... a monk should go ... (*aparam apy upāsakasya karaṇīyam. yathāpi tad upāsakas tasminn eva stūpe yaṣṭy-āropanaṃ chatrāropanaṃ dhvajāropanaṃ patākāropanaṃ ... anupradātukāmo bhavati ... sa bhikṣunām dūtā anupreṣayati ... gantavyam bhikṣunā ...*).¹

Admitting that the exact sense of *yaṣṭi* — though much discussed² — is uncertain, still it is difficult not to see in this passage a regulation which corresponds almost exactly to the record of an actual event which appears to have occurred at a *stūpa* near Bahāwalpur in the first century of the Common Era. This event was recorded in a *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription, the language of which is “a Sanskritized Prakrit.”

¹ Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 139.11–17.

² F. Weller, “Divyāvadāna 244.7 ff.”, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 1, (1953), pp. 268–76; L. Alsdorf, “Der Stūpa des Kṣemaṃkara”, *Studia Indologica (Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel)*, (Bonn: 1955), pp. 9–16; M. Bénisti, “Étude sur le stūpa dans l’Inde ancienne”, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 50, (1960), pp. 37–116, esp. pp. 76 foll.; F.B.J. Kuiper, “Yūpayāṣṭi- (Divy. 244,11)”, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3, (1959), pp. 204–05; G. Roth, “Bemerkungen zum Stūpa des Kṣemaṃkara”, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6, (1980), pp. 181–92; etc.

Although there have been some differences of opinion in regard to its interpretation, Konow's — as usual — appears to be basically correct:

The eleventh year — year 11 — of the Great King, the King Surpassing Kings, the Son of Devas, Kaniṣka, in the month of Daisios, on the eighteenth day — day 18 — when the monk (*bhikṣu*) Nāgadatta, a narrator of *dharma* (*dha[rma]kathi*), the student (*śiṣya*) of the teacher (*acarya*) Damatrāta, the student's student of the teacher Bhava, raised the staff (*yathim aropayata*) here in Damana, the mistress of the monastery (*viharasvamiṇi*), the lay-sister (*upasika*) Balānandī and the matron, her mother Balajayā, also gave, in addition to the setting up of the *yaṣṭi* (*imaṃ yaṣṭipratīhanam*), the enclosure (*parivara*). May this be for the benefit and ease of all living beings.¹

Here we seem to have the record of almost precisely the kind of occasion envisioned in the text. A lay-sister donates “the setting up of a *yaṣṭi*” at a *stūpa*, but the presence of a monk — if not his actual direction of the event — is carefully recorded, using in at least one case exactly the same wording as the *Vinaya* passage. The importance of the epigraphical record lies, of course, in the fact that it allows us to say

¹ For Konow's edition and translation see S. Konow, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I), (Calcutta: 1929), pp. 139–41 (no. LXXIV), pl. XXVI — my translation is heavily indebted to his. For some earlier interpretations of the record see A.F.R. Hoernle, “Readings from the Arian Pāli”, *The Indian Antiquary* 10, (1881), pp. 324–31; B. Indrajī, “A Bakro-Pāli Inscription of Sui Bāhāra”, *The Indian Antiquary* 11, (1882), pp. 128–29; N.G. Majumdar, “The Suē Vihar Copper-plate of the Reign of Kaniṣka”, *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, 1, (Calcutta: 1922), pp. 459–74.

that what was promulgated in at least this *Vinaya* appears to actually have been occurring by the first century.¹

Apart from these points, and apart from noting too that the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* passage also lists as one occasion the recitation of texts by a lay-brother, we need only note that this *Vinaya* not only confirms the kind of participation of monks in domestic rituals that was taken for granted in the Pāli *Vinaya*, it also assumes — again as in the Pāli — that monks will regularly act as donors. The first of a monk's “obligations” to fellow monks occurs in the following form:

What is the obligation to a monk (*bhikṣoḥ karaṇīyam*). It may occur that a monk wants to present a park to the community of monks from the four directions (*yathāpi tad bhikṣuś cāturdiśe bhikṣusamghe ārāmaṃ niryātayitukāmo bhavati*). By him there an abundance of material things and worldly things are brought together (*tena tatra prabhūto vastulābha āmiṣalābhaś ca*

¹ If our *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* passage strongly argues for Konow's interpretation of the *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription, it is less helpful for understanding the references to *yaṣṭis* or *laṣṭis* in a series of records from Western India — see B. Indrajī, “The Western Kshatrapas”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1890), p. 652; R.D. Banerji, “The Andhau Inscriptions of the Time of Rudradaman”, *Epigraphia Indica* 16, (1921–22), pp. 19–25 (two of these might be Buddhist); S. Gokhale, “Andhau Inscription of Caṣṭana, Śaka 11”, *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 2, (1969), pp. 104–11; D.C. Sircar, “Andhau Fragmentary Inscription of Caṣṭana, Year 11”, *Journal of Indian History* 48, (1970), pp. 253–57; S. Sankaranarayanan, “A New Early Kushana Brahmi Inscription”, *Śrīnidhih. Perspectives in Indian Archaeology, Art and Culture. Shri K.R. Srinivasan Festschrift*, ed. K.V. Raman et al., (Madras: 1983), pp. 277–84; etc. — Although the references that I know are late, it is worth noting that — like our *Mūlasarvāstivāda* passage — Hindu inscriptions also refer to a ritual *dhvajāroha* or *dhvajārohaṇa*, see R. Sharma, “Udayapur Inscription of Paramara Udayaditya, Vikrama 1137”, *Epigraphia Indica* 38, (1970), pp. 281 foll.; S.L. Katare, “Kalanjara Inscription of V.S. 1147”, *Epigraphia Indica* 31, (1955–56), pp. 163 foll.; etc.

samupānīto bhavati). He sends a messenger to the monks (saying) "Come! The Reverends will enjoy". A monk should go, having been authorized for seven days, through this obligation to a monk.¹

In referring to "bringing together material and worldly things" the text uses exactly the same formulaic wording it had used several times previously in regard to lay-brothers. Moreover, immediately after this passage the text also lists in abbreviated form virtually all the occasions it had enumerated in detail in regard to obligations to lay-brothers (*yathāpi tad bhikṣur asminn evārāme vihāraṃ śayanāsanam dhruvabhikṣāṃ tathāgatasya śārīrastūpam*, etc.).² As in the section

¹ Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 141.1 foll.

² Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 141.6 foll. It will have been noticed that where the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* makes full reference to *stūpas* the *Theravāda-vinaya* has none. On this pattern see G. Schopen, "The *Stūpa* Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya", *JPTS* XIII, (1989), pp. 83–100 and the responses to it in O. von Hinüber, "*Khandhakavatta*. Loss of Text in the Pāli Vinaya", *JPTS* XV, (1990), pp. 127–38; C. Hallisey, "Apropos the Pāli Vinaya as a Historical Document. A Reply to Gregory Schopen", *ibid.*, pp. 197–208; R. Gombrich, "Making Mountains Without Molehills: The Case of the Missing *Stūpa*", *ibid.*, pp. 141–43. What has come out of this discussion — apart from some light entertainment provided by Professor Gombrich — seems to be: an increased awareness of the complexity and extent of Pāli *Vinaya* literature, and a promising suggestion that there is something like an "ideal" *Vinaya* (the canonical *Vinaya*) and an "actually used" *Vinaya* (the various summaries and "different monastic handbooks"), with the consequent confirmation of the suggestion "that the canonical *Vinaya* text is not as useful as once thought as a ready source for extracting usable historical data" (Hallisey, p. 207). It seems too that the suggestion of "the loss of text" is weaker even than I thought, but some problems remain. Though the *Katikāvata* passage might be neutralized by invoking the *du* or *ca*, this will not affect the *Visuddhimagga* passages. They, as Hallisey says, "are more difficult to explain." There is, moreover, what appears to be a much more likely case of "loss of text" — here again concerning "relics" — in the Sri Lankan mss. of the *Samyutta* (see G. Schopen, "An Old

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dealing with lay-brothers, so here the section ends with reference to a monk's obligation to attend to a sick or dying fellow monk by giving a recitation (*yathāpi tad bhikṣur ābādhiko duḥkṣito vādhaḡlāno bhavati. sa bhikṣūnāṃ dūtān anupreṣayati. āgacchantv āyuṣmānto vācāṃ bhā[ṣī]ṣyanti*, etc.).¹

We have, then, two apparently distinct *Vinaya* traditions — the Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda — which both assume and enjoin monastic participation in at least some domestic, lay, life-cycle rituals and take as a given the fact that monks — exactly like laymen — make both major and minor religious donations, and that when they do, other monks are obliged to be present. There is, moreover, at least a third *Vinaya* tradition in which we find something very similar.

The *Abhisamācārikā*, the "Prākṛit-cum-Sanskṛit" text of which was discovered in Tibet by R. Sankṛityayana, belongs to the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda monastic tradition. In its formal structure it does not contain divisions corresponding to the Pāli *Vassupanāyika-khandhaka* nor to the Gilgit *Varṣāvastu* and, as a consequence, we do not find in it a passage that formally corresponds to those we have discussed. We do find, however, the expression of the same sorts of

Inscription from Amarāvati and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14.2, (1991), pp. 281–329 [p. 328 note 111]). Finally, it seems absolutely certain — given Professor Gombrich's agreement — that it can no longer be said that the Pāli *Vinaya* does not contain any references to *stūpas*. He seems to have been so convinced by my suggestion that the references to *cetiya*s in the *Sutta-Vibhaṅga* are to be understood as referring to *stūpas* that he wants to use them against me (p. 140). But the presence of such rules in one part of the Pāli *Vinaya*, but not in another, does not seem to puzzle.

¹ Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 142.5. Elsewhere in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* — in its *Cīvara-vastu* — there are even more specific rules governing the performance of a "worship of the Teacher (= Buddha)" (*śāstus ca pūjā*) for a sick and dying monk and how that *pūjā* should be financed (N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part 2, (Srinagar: 1942), 124.11–125.9).

assumptions and ideas. In its first chapter,¹ for example, which deals in large part with the duties of a senior monk (*samgha-sthavira*), it says that one of the duties of such a monk is to determine, when an invitation to a meal has been received by the monks, what the occasion for the meal is (*jānitavyam. kim ālambanam bhaktam*). He is to determine whether, significantly, the invitation is “connected with a birth, connected with a death, connected with a marriage, connected with a house warming” (*jātakam mṛtakam vā vevāhikam vā grha-praveśakam vā*).² These are the occasions, apparently, on which it was assumed monks would receive and accept invitations from the laity, and they — as in the Pāli and Gilgit *Vinayas* — are all connected with domestic life-cycle rituals. The text goes on to say that in addition to the occasion, the senior monk must also determine the source of the invitation, he must determine whether it comes from “a visitor, a villager, a householder, or a renunciant” (*āgantukasya gamikasya grhasthasya pravrajitasya*). It is clear from the instructions given by the senior monk to the person sent to determine these things that when the inviter is a householder he is generally assumed to be a lay-brother or *upāsaka* (*tena gacchiya pṛcchitavyam, koci imam hi ithannāmo nāma upāsako*). It is equally clear from similar instructions that the inviter could be a monk or nun (*ko nimantreti, bhikṣu bhikṣuṇī upāsakopāsikā āgantuko gamiko vāñijako sārthavāho*).³

¹ The whole text was first edited in B. Jinananda, *Abhisamācārikā [Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka]* (Patna: 1969). The first chapter has been again edited and translated — though the latter at least is far from satisfactory — in S. Singh & K. Minowa, “A Critical Edition and Translation of Abhisamācārikā Nāma Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇakaḥ”, *Buddhist Studies. The Journal of the Department of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi* 12 (1988) pp. 81–146; see also M. Prasad, *A Comparative Study of Abhisamācārikā* (Patna: 1984).

² Singh & Minowa, 91.26; Jinananda, 17.8.

³ Singh & Minowa, 91.27; 89.32; 95.27; Jinananda, 17.9; 14.9; 25.1.

After indicating how all of this should be determined the text goes on to specify how on each occasion the “transfer of merit” apparently expected from the monks should be performed, citing — curiously — both an inappropriate and an appropriate verse to be recited that in every case is tailored to the specific occasion. Typical are the instructions concerning an invitation “connected with a death”:

Now, then, when it is an occasion connected with a death, it is not permissible to direct the reward thus (*nāyam kṣamati evam dakṣiṇā ādiṣitum*):

“Today for you is a very good day, very efficacious. At present has arrived an auspicious moment.

Today for you in the well-ordained, through the well-ordained, the reward in the most excellent vessel shines.”

Not in this way is the reward to be directed, but rather the reward should be directed (*atha khalu dakṣiṇā ādiṣitavyā*):

“All living beings will die. Indeed life ends in death. As was their action so they will go, going towards the result of good or bad.

There is hell for those of bad action; good being done, they go to heaven. Having developed the noble path they without further consequences enter *nirvāṇa*.”

In this way the reward is to be directed.¹

The monks on each occasion are required to recite an appropriate verse and “to direct the reward” that results from this. Though not frequent the expression used here to refer to the “transfer of

¹ Singh & Minowa, 92.15 foll.; Jinananda, 18.13 foll.

merit" — *dakṣiṇā ādiś-* — does occur in the Pāli canon, and there, as here, is also associated with the recitation of verses. It is far more frequent and firmly anchored in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and related sources, where again it is frequently connected with the recitation of verses or *Dharma*. And it is referred to as well in other Mahāsāṅghika sources.¹ The appropriate verse here — as in most other cases — occurs elsewhere in canonical literature.² But for our present purposes the most important point to be noted is, of course, that the *Abhisamācārikā*, though representing yet another distinct *Vinaya* tradition, assumes, and makes rules to govern, the participation of monks in domestic life-cycle rituals, and assumes as well that monks and nuns act as donors. Though minor details may vary, it has in common a set of basic assumptions and ideas with both the Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda monastic traditions and codes. All share the assumption and acceptance of a monk's obligation to be present at, and to have an active role in, a variety of domestic, life-cycle rituals connected with birth, marriage, house construction, sickness, and death. All promulgate rules governing such obligations.³ All recognize as perfectly regular that monks and nuns will

¹ For references in both primary and secondary sources, and some discussion, concerning the expression *dakṣiṇā ādiś-* see Schopen, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20, (1992), pp. 1–39 (p. 30 note 43). It has yet, however, to be fully studied.

² This verse or variants of it occur at *Mahāvastu* II 66; *Samyutta* I 97; etc.

³ The various *Vinayas* obviously do not list all the same ritual occasions. The *Abhisamācārikā* list is the most inclusive and the Pāli *Vinaya* puts considerable emphasis on "house dedication" rituals. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* is noticeably the most restrictive in terms of the kind of domestic rituals at which monks are obliged to be present. The explanation for these differences is, of course, not yet determined, but it may well be related not to chronology, but to the cultural and geographical milieu in which the various codes were redacted. We may see in the restrictive character of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, for example, another indication that it was redacted by, and for, a Buddhist monastic community in close contact with brahmanical or significantly brahmanized

act as donors. The texts, I think, are unambiguous on these points, although there is as well an important qualification in all of them.

The qualification or restriction which appears to apply to the obligations monks owe to others is highlighted in, for example, another discussion in the Pāli *Vinaya*. The case involves a monk whose mother falls ill and sends for him during the rain retreat. The monk is made to recall the Buddha's ruling on the matter, but it apparently does not cover this particular case because the monk says: *ayaṅ ca me mātā gilānā sā ca anupāsikā. kathaṃ nu kho mayā paṭipajjitabban ti*, ("This is my mother who is fallen ill, but she is not a lay-sister. How now should I proceed?"). The Buddha responds by adding one's mother and father to the previously established list of individuals — all otherwise formally connected with the Buddhist community — to whom a monk had a clear obligation in such circumstances: A monk, a nun, a probationer, a novice, a woman novice, and lay-brothers and sisters¹

This case confirms and makes explicit what all our texts, whether Theravāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, or Mahāsāṅghika, seem to imply: the obligation of monks to attend and participate in lay life-cycle ceremonies is not owed to the total lay population, but only to individuals who are formally designated as lay-brothers (*upāsakas*) or lay-sisters (*upāsikās*). To which the Pāli tradition at least adds one's mother and father, even if the latter are not formerly connected with the Buddhist community. This restriction is significant for understanding the social dynamics of the Buddhist community as it was understood by *vinaya* masters. It is also significant because epigraphical material seems strongly to suggest that only a small part of those people who made

groups in which domestic ritual was already in the hands of other religious specialists. The needs or requirements of a monastic group in "tribal" or partially brahmanized areas could differ markedly. Cf. Schopen, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20, (1992), pp. 1–39 (esp. pp. 18–20).

¹ Pāli *Vinaya* I 147,20 foll.

strongly to suggest that only a small part of those people who made gifts at Buddhist sites identified themselves as *upāsakas* or *upāsikās*.¹ The ritual clientele of Buddhist monks may necessarily have been limited in early India. The problem that remains, however, is determining what “early” can mean here.

The situation encountered here is nothing new. It recurs repeatedly in the study of “early” Buddhist canonical sources, especially when textual sources transmitted by more than one Buddhist monastic order are consulted. We have in our case texts redacted and transmitted by the Theravāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, and Mahāsāṅghika which — although they differ in regard to detail — share or have in common a set of rules and a common assumption in regard to monastic participation in domestic ritual. To account for such shared or common elements two basic theories have been used. One says that common elements in discrete textual and monastic sources must go back to a period which predates the development of “schisms.” The other says that such common elements are the result of “contamination,” mutual borrowing and a process of levelling, and therefore are late.² The first theory depends on the assumption that Buddhist monastic groups can be meaningfully treated as “sects” — this has been repeatedly questioned.³

¹ A thorough study of *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* in Indian Buddhist inscriptions has yet to be done. But at Sañci *stūpa* no. 1, for example, only 18 of the more than 325 lay donors call themselves *upāsakas* or *upāsikās*; at Bharhut none do; at Nasik only 4 of 23; at Karle only 2 of 22; and I very much suspect a similar pattern will hold through out until at least the fifth/sixth century.

² Cf. L.O. Gómez, “Buddhism in India”, in *Buddhism and Asian History*, ed. J.M. Kitagawa & M.D. Cummings, (New York: 1989), p. 64; L. Schmithausen, “Preface”, *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka* (Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. II), (Leiden: 1990), pp. 1–2.

³ See H. Bechert, “Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Sekten in Indien und Ceylon”, *La nouvelle clío* 7–9, (1955–57), pp. 311–60; Bechert, “On the Identification of Buddhist Schools in Early Sri Lanka”, *Indology and Law*.

It depends on the assumption that once developed these “sects” existed in isolation, hermetically sealed, with no significant contact or interchange — this is contrary to all our evidence.¹ It depends on the assumption that we actually know when the splits or “schisms” occurred — but we do not. The textual sources — all very late — give a variety of discordant dates and epigraphical sources suggest that discrete monastic orders appeared centuries later than our textual sources say.² Finally, this theory assumes that “orthodoxy” or uniformity among related religious groups is established first and then only over time do significant differences develop — this is contrary to almost everything “church historians” and sociologists have discovered: if uniformity is ever achieved it is achieved over more or less long periods of time through a complex process of mutual influence, borrowing, and sometimes violent levelling that works on originally discrete and competing groups and voices.³ The second theory seems to avoid these problems.

A similar — in fact related — set of questions concerns the date of the various *Vinayas*. But it too seems that the old observations and arguments of Wassilieff and Lévi remain unrefuted and best account for

¹ Ét. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère śāka*, (Louvain: 1958), p. 197.

² See Schopen, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 10, (1985), pp. 15–16.

³ See, for example, the now “classic” W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, (Philadelphia: 1971). Something similar has occasionally been argued in the development of Indian Buddhism — but only occasionally. J. Przymuski, for example, in discussing the *prāṭhyasamutpāda* formula said many years ago: “En somme, nous ne pouvons admettre qu’il y eût à l’origine du Bouddhisme une série de douze ‘conditions’ dont les autres listes ne seraient que des déformations récentes. Plus haut nous remontons dans le passé, plus grande est la diversité que nous constatons. C’est probablement à une époque assez tardive qu’on s’efforça de concilier les thèses divergentes et que finit par prévaloir la série: *avidyā ... jarāmarāṇa*” (J. Przymuski, “La roue de la vie à Ajaṅṭā”, *Journal Asiatique*, (1920), pp. 327–28).

what seem to be the facts. The former said some years ago that it appears that "les Vinayas parvenus à nous ont été rédigés à une époque tardive," and the evidence seems to be mounting in his favour.¹

Fortunately, however, the dates of the *Vinayas* need not here be decided. It is probably true that in terms of absolute chronology *all* the *Vinayas* are late. But from the point-of-view of relative chronology they also represent the earliest codification of monastic rules that we have. For our specific purposes this means that monastic presence and participation in a range of domestic life-cycle rituals is assumed, judged important, and prescribed in the earliest *Vinaya* literature that we have, and that our earliest *Vinaya* sources assume that monks and nuns will regularly act as donors and rule on the obligations of fellow monks when they do.

We still, of course, do not know if monks actually participated in domestic rituals. We only know that the monk redactors of several *Vinayas* assumed they did and said they should. That monks and nuns acted as donors, however, is certain. Not only do those same monk redactors assume they did, and formulate rules for governing the behaviour of other monks when they would, but Indian inscriptions put

¹ W. Wassilieff [V. Vasilyev], "Le bouddhisme dans son plein développement d'après les vinayas", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 34, (1896), pp. 318–25, esp. pp. 321 foll.; S. Lévi, "Les éléments de formation du Divyāvādāna", *T'oung Pao* 8, (1907), pp. 116–17 and note 1; Lévi, "Les saintes écritures du bouddhisme", in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, (Paris: 1937), pp. 82–84: "De plus, la vie du couvent, qui allait en se développant sans cesse, proposait ainsi sans cesse des problèmes pratiques qu'il fallait résoudre au nom du fondateur de l'ordre. Les couvents les plus riches, les mieux fréquentés, se créaient ainsi des collections qui se perpétuaient en s'accroissant. Les religieux errants, qui circulaient toujours nombreux de couvent en couvent, maintenaient dans ce vaste ensemble une communication constante qui tendait à niveler les divergences trop accusées. Réduits par élagage à leurs éléments communs, les Vinaya de toutes les écoles se ramènent sans effort à une sorte d'archétype unique, qui n'est pas le Vinaya primitif, mais la moyenne des Vinaya."

acted as donors, however, is certain. Not only do those same monk redactors assume they did, and formulate rules for governing the behaviour of other monks when they would, but Indian inscriptions put this beyond any doubt. Once again the isolated, socially disengaged "early" Buddhist monk of modern scholars and Mahāyāna polemics is difficult to find.¹

Austin

Gregory Schopen

¹ The influence of the characterizations of "early" monks found in Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature on modern scholarly characterizations is a subject not yet studied, but one which may well be of particular significance. There are cases, for example, where what appears to be Mahāyāna polemical caricature has been used to account for historical development. Dayal has said that " ... it seems that the Buddhist monks ... in the second century B.C. ... emphasised a few duties to the exclusion of others. They became too self-centered and contemplative, and did not evince the old zeal for missionary activity among the people. They seem to have cared only for their own liberation from sin and sorrow. They were indifferent to the duty of teaching and helping all human beings The *bodhisattva* ideal can be understood only against this background of a saintly and serene, but inactive and indolent monastic order" (H. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, (London: 1932), pp. 2–3). This explanation of an historical occurrence has, in a variety of forms, often been repeated (see Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, 73, 78, 699), but no evidence for it is ever cited, and it appears to be little more than a paraphrase of the polemical position taken in Mahāyāna *sūtras*. There is, moreover, little, if any, indication in Indian inscriptions that monks — either before or after the beginning of the Common Era — were "self-centered", "cared only for their own liberation" and were "indifferent to ... helping all human beings." In fact, the indications are quite otherwise. They suggest a monk very active in giving, concerned with benefiting parents, teachers, friends, and "all beings", and very much engaged in the social world (see the references in note 1 on p. 92 above). We see this monk in Indian inscriptions which date to almost exactly the period during which we think Mahāyāna *sūtras* were first composed. Obviously, much remains to be learned here.

THE CASE OF THE MURDERED MONKS

This is possibly the first time that the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* has been offered material with a title so sensational as to suggest one of the more luridly covered paperbacks ! Still, the subject-matter to be examined here, a really mysterious case, does occur in the pages of the Vinaya-piṭaka, being found there as the principal story of the third *pārājika* (defeat). In this paper it is intended to summarize the story, to look into the Vinaya Commentary's elaborations, to compare these matters with the account in the Dharmagupta Vinaya and finally to comment on the issues raised.

The Mahāvibhaṅga (Vin III 68 foll.) tells a very strange story. At that time, it relates, the Buddha was instructing the monks in the practice of the unattractiveness of the body (*asubhabhāvanā*). When he had completed this he undertook a fortnight's retreat, seeing no-one except the monk who brought him almsfood. As the monks practised *asubha* it seems that self-hatred arose very strongly in them, for they came to loathe their bodies, rather than seeing them dispassionately as impure. Some committed suicide, while others took the lives of their fellow monks, apparently making pacts: "I'll kill you, you kill me". Some went to a hanger-on of the monastery, a man called Migalaṇḍika who had a yellow robe and pretended to be a monk, and asked him to take their lives. He did this 'service' in exchange for the dead monks' robes and bowls. Afterwards he took his blood-stained knife down to the river Vaggumudā to wash it there. Then he repented of his violence, thinking that he had deprived many virtuous monks of life. At this point he experienced some sort of vision and it is hard to decide whether this 'being' was something external to him, or an aspect of his own mind. In any case, the '*devatā*' told him that he had done good in bringing across, or as we should say 'saving', those who were not yet across, had not yet attained Nibbāna. After this he was convinced that what he had done was good, and consequently he returned to the monastery, where he

went from one building to another crying out, "Who has not crossed? Whom do I bring across?" (Vin III 69,10–11). We are told that in this way he 'brought across' as many as sixty monks in a day; that is, he murdered them.

At the end of his retreat the Buddha noticed that the number of monks had decreased and asked Ānanda the reason for this. When he was informed of what had happened he called a saṅgha-meeting, at first saying nothing of the recent spate of killings but instructing the remaining monks in mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasati*). His disapproval is only expressed with a stock passage recurring frequently in the Vinaya, "It is not proper, it is not seemly ... this is not for the benefit of unbelievers"; after which he is shown as laying down the basic rule. We find this an incredible account of what actually took place, as the Buddha does not allude to the doings of Migalaṇḍika or even forbid suicide. Only at a later time is he depicted as doing so.

Turning now to the Commentary (Sp 393–479) for some light upon these strange events, we are treated to elaborations of the *asubha*-practice followed by some comments on the story. We are informed that, for reasons obvious below, *no-one*, apart from the monk appointed, could interrupt the Buddha's retreat.

At this point the Commentary tells a story of the past to try to account for the terrible Vinaya tale of wholesale suicide and murder. This woefully inadequate story concerns a group of 500 hunters who had killed deer in their past lives and later, in the one then current, had been ordained, still without having exhausted the fruits of their evil *kamma*. Due to this they killed themselves and other monks, but apparently only those of their own group. The Commentary points out that among them many were noble (*ariya*) while some were ordinary (*puthujjana*). It is implied that the latter would reach a path/fruit through meditation on *asubha*, while of course the future of the former was in no doubt. What

an extraordinary story! Does this mean that those ennobled by the Dhamma went around killing other monks? It is rare in the Suttas to find even examples of monks who took their own lives in the last stages of terminal illness, when as Arahants they were not to be blamed; what is to be said of monks killing others! The Commentator then attributes some improbable thoughts to the Buddha: he says to himself, "I am not able to save them with my divine power. I am of no-use to them". The Commentator grapples with the dilemma of proclaiming the Buddha omniscient on the one hand (as all Commentaries claim in opposition to the Buddha's own words [M I 482,14–18]), while showing him doing nothing to stop his monks committing suicide and murder on the other. The explanation offered is that the Buddha was in *jhāna* and that no-one could talk to him. This conflicts with the Vinaya text which mentions that one monk took him almsfood every day.

After commenting on Migalaṇḍika, of whom it is said that he went to the river not only to wash his knife but also to purify himself of evil *kamma*, the Commentator arrives at another difficult point: explaining why the Buddha asked Ānanda where the monks had gone. If he was omniscient he knew already; if not, then he would be like ordinary people who need to ask. This issue is resolved by implying that the Buddha had been playing around: though he knew, still he asked as though he did not know. Such complications always follow from claims to omniscience when this is defined as knowing everything all at once. There is some gentle mockery of the Jain teacher's claims to omniscience at M II 214.

The Dharmagupta Vinaya story agrees essentially with the Pāli account. It makes much of the kammic retribution that had to fall on the 500 former hunters, by then monks, who would be forced to slaughter one another. Other Vinayas may throw more light upon this incident. As it stands, the Pāli account presents us with insoluble problems which are not in any way solved by the Commentary:

1. The Buddha knew others' minds, so why did he teach *asubha* meditation if this was likely to lead to suicide and murder ?
2. Presumably he knew of the murderous potential of Migalaṇḍika, but is shown as going into retreat.
3. No monks, not even Ānanda, did anything to prevent the massacre. Even his attendant monk apparently did not say to the Buddha that monks were being slain or killing themselves in large numbers.
4. Nothing was done to restrain Migalaṇḍika, though these events are said to have taken place not far from the city of Vesālī, from which help could easily have been obtained.
5. The Buddha, apparently not knowing of the carnage during his retreat, asks, "Where have the monks gone ?" when he emerges from it.

When reviewed like this the whole story appears a piece of improbable fiction, possibly a very distorted account of something which actually did take place. It is strange that a story like this, which does no credit to the Buddha, but quite the opposite, was permitted to remain in the Vinaya. Maybe some exceedingly dark events really did take place and had to be explained away, though the existing account is not successful in doing so. If the story is partly true, it would hardly reflect well on the Buddha, while if the whole is true he appears in a worse light still. As a Buddhist I am naturally reluctant to accept this.

The *Bhikshuni Precepts Manual* of the Dharmagupta Vinaya recounts almost the same story. Here is its account of the monastery at that time: "Due to these circumstances, the grove became littered with corpses. It stank horribly and was in a state of utter chaos and resembled a graveyard. The laity were shocked. They said, 'If these *bhikṣus* would

go so far as to kill one another, how much more would they take the lives of other people ! We should not make offerings to them any more."

It is unlikely that the mystery underlying this Vinaya rule will ever be solved, though other accounts surviving in the various untranslated Vinayas may be of some help. Obviously, the curious account in Pāli does not present the whole picture. Besides this, one must allow for exaggeration, especially of the number of monks killed by Migalaṇḍika: if the Vinaya text is taken literally he killed 265 over several days. The Commentary, more expansive, tells us 500 monks died, but then this is a standard figure for a large number in Pāli.

In this initial exploration of the case we have not been able to offer a satisfactory solution. Perhaps later investigators with more information at their disposal may be able to 'solve' this mystery, or if they cannot do this, they may at least make more probable guesses at what happened to those monks outside Vesālī.

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sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā nirujjhanti evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandassa nirodho hoti 101, end. Vipassanābhūmi-pāṭha
 so puggalo upalabbhati sacchikatthaparamatthenā ti | micchā | 271, end. Kathāvatthu (6 lines); 438, end. Kathāvatthu (1 page)
 Soḷasadharmappabhedasaṅgahaṃ paṭhamabhāṇavara 147
 Hetugocchaka 421
 hetuppaccayo ārammaṇappaccayo adhipatippaccayo anantarappaccayo 101, beg. Paṭṭhānamātikāpāṭha (6 lines); 271, Mahā-paṭṭhāna (7 lines); 431, beg. Paṭṭhāna (8 lines); 440, Paṭṭhāna (1 page)
 hetū kho pana dhammā sahetukā pi ahetukā pi 421, end. Hetugocchaka
 hetū dhammā na hetū dhammā sahetukā dhammā ahetukā dhammā hetu sampayuttā dhammā 420, beg. Hetugocchaka

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THE ARISING OF AN OFFENCE: *āpattisamuṭṭhāna*

A note on the structure and history of the Theravāda-Vinaya

The article on the Vinaya word *āpatti-samuṭṭhāna* in the CPD¹ provides little more than the most basic information. Besides the translation and the statement that there are six groups of *āpatti-samuṭṭhāna*, a very few references limited to the Vinaya-Piṭaka and the Samantapāsādikā are given. It is not said what these six groups are, nor is the second set of 13 names of origins mentioned, although two of them actually occur in CPD I, if only as subtitles of a chapter in the Parivāra: *addhāna-samuṭṭhāna* and *ananuññāta-samuṭṭhāna*. A third word belonging to this set almost inevitably escaped the attention of the authors of CPD I in 1931 and 1944 (addenda), as the PTS edition of the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī containing *adinnādāna-samuṭṭhāna* (Kkh 23,17) appeared only in 1956, and the Sinhalese print of 1905 mentioned in the Epilegomena may not have been available.

Progressing in the alphabet, the CPD reached another word relevant in this connection: *eḷakaloma-samuṭṭhāna* "sheep's wool origin", which is translated in this way following I.B. Horner (*BD* VI, London 1966, p. 129 = Vin V 88,37). Again, extreme brevity and the lack of further explanation leaves the reader wondering what this word really means, especially as the preceding entry *eḷakalomasadisā* is said to signify "like sheep's wool", referring to *samuṭṭhānādīni eḷakalomasadisāni* (Kkh 102,3 [read 102,9] ≠ 103,4). This results in a somewhat enigmatic translation of the relevant sentence: "origins like sheep's wool, etc."

¹ The system of abbreviations used follows: V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924-48; Epilegomena (1948) and H. Bechert: *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden. Beiheft 3. Göttingen 1990. Translations from the Vinaya follow: I.B. Horner: *BD*, I-VI, London 1938-66.

It may, therefore, not be altogether useless to explain the different references to *samuṭṭhāna* in some detail, although some, at least, of the most basic facts can be gathered, e.g. from C.S. Upasak's *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms*, (Benares 1975, p. 225, s.v. *samuṭṭhāna*), or from I.B. Horner's translation of the Parivāra (*BD*, VI). Furthermore, a full understanding of the *samuṭṭhāna* sheds some light on the development of Buddhist ecclesiastical law, on the methods of the Vinaya commentaries, and finally on the somewhat peculiar position of the Milindapañha regarding the interpretation of the Vinaya.

In the fourth chapter of the Cullavagga, the *samathakkhandhaka*, the earliest extant classification of six *samuṭṭhāna* can be found, when the question: *āpattādhikaraṇassa kiṃ mūlaṃ* (Vin II 90,29), "what is the root of a legal question concerning an offence (laid down in the Vinaya)?"² is answered by: *cha āpattisamuṭṭhānā āpattādhikaraṇassa mūlaṃ* (Vin II 90,29 foll.), "six origins of offences are the root of a legal question". These six origins depend on whether an offence arises from:

1. *kāyato na vācato na cittato*
2. *vācato na kāyato na cittato*
3. *kāyato ca vācato ca, na cittato*
4. *kāyato ca cittato ca, na vācato*
5. *vācato ca cittato ca, na kāyato*
6. *kāyato ca vācato ca cittato ca* (Vin II 90,30–35).

This paragraph is not commented on in the Samantapāsādikā.

Consequently, no offence can arise in mind (*citta*) only: If a monk only thinks of an offence without actually committing it, this intention is not considered as an *āpatti* according to this classification.

Evidently, this text presupposes a common knowledge about this classification among Theravāda monks. For the attribution of these

² In Theravāda law there are four such "legal questions" (*adhikaraṇa*, in contrast to *aṭṭa* "worldly legal question" [cf. *IT* 7, 1979, p. 278 note 12]) concerning 1. *vivāda* "dispute", 2. *anuvāda* "admonition", 3. *āpatti* "offence (against ecclesiastical law)", 4. *kicca* "legal procedure (of the Saṃgha such as *kammavācā* [cf. *SūII* 13/14, 1987, p. 102])", Vin II 88,18–20.

origins to single rules of the *pāṭimokkhasutta* is not explained in the Mahāvagga or in the Cullavagga, which for the most part contain the "historical" information about the Vinaya rules, as they record the incidents which induced the Buddha to prescribe a certain rule or to allow a certain procedure, rather than give any systematic treatment of the rules, which is foreshadowed only in the opening chapters of the Cullavagga and fully developed in the Parivāra. Thus any monk who knew by heart the *pāṭimokkhasutta* as a matter of course, and in addition the Parivāra, which seems to have been composed with strong mnemonic purposes in mind, was well equipped to handle all Vinaya questions that might arise in daily monastic life.

At the very beginning of the Parivāra a number of questions is asked and answered about every single rule in the *pāṭimokkhasutta*. This demonstrates what was considered to be important and necessary knowledge about the Vinaya. Although the whole network of these questions and answers deserves a detailed study, only that section will be discussed here which is connected with the Cullavagga passage quoted above: *channaṃ āpattisamuṭṭhānānaṃ katīhi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti* (Vin V 1,14), "from how many origins of the six origins of offences does [the *pārājika*-offence (Vin V 1,6)] arise?"³ This is answered by: *ekena samuṭṭhānena samuṭṭhāti kāyato ca cittato ca samuṭṭhāti na vācato* (Vin V 2,13 foll.), "[the first *pārājika*-offence] arises from one origin, from [the one involving] body and mind, [but] not speech (i.e. no. 4 in the list given above)".

This is different for the second *pārājika*-offence: *siyā kāyato ca cittato ca samuṭṭhāti na vācato, siyā vācato ca cittato ca samuṭṭhāti na kāyato, siyā kāyato ca vācato ca cittato ca samuṭṭhāti* (Vin V 3,37 foll.). Thus three different varieties of origin are mentioned for this particular

³ The structure of the first two chapters of the Parivāra has not been understood properly in *BD* in this particular respect as the translation shows: "... by how many origins does (a monk) originate the offence". Leaving aside the difficulty of taking *sam-ut-sthā* as a transitive verb, the context in the Parivāra itself and later commentaries rule out any other subject in this sentence than *āpatti*.

offence and for the remaining two *pārājika*-offences. The same or sometimes different combinations apply for every single offence, and not rarely even all six combinations apply: *chahi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti* (Vin V 6,6), concerning *saṃghadisesa* 6, or only three: *tīhi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti* (Vin V 6,18), concerning *saṃghādisesa* 8. In this instance the Parivāra does not indicate which origins it is actually referring to.

A third way to indicate the origin of an offence is finally introduced on the occasion of *nissaggiya* 23: *dvīhi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti kaṭhinake* (Vin V 12,3), “arises by two origins as in the *kaṭhina*-group”. This refers back to *nissaggiya* 1 (Vin V 8,23), where the respective origin is explained. Further references of this kind follow, e.g. *eḷakalomake* (Vin V 14,15), referring to *pacittiya* 6 or *padasodhamme* (Vin V 14,20), referring to *pācittiya* 7.

How this system of reference operates can be deduced from the third chapter in the Parivāra, which is called *samuṭṭhānass’ uddāna* (Vin V 86,1–90,5). Altogether 13 different origins are enumerated there, and every rule of the *pāṭimokkhasutta* is assigned to its respective origin. Consequently this arrangement according to origins complements the first two chapters of the Parivāra, where this sequence of rules is kept as it is in the *pāṭimokkhasutta*.

At the end of each of these 13 groups the total of rules assembled is mentioned, e.g. *chasattati ime sikkhā kāyamānasikā katā* (Vin V 87,4*), “these trainings are seventy-six done by body and by thought” (I.B. Horner), or *samapaññās’ ime dhammā chahi ṭhānehi jāyare* (Vin V 87,36*), “exactly fifty are these items that are born from six occasions”, where by a slip of the pen *samapaññās(a)* is mistranslated by I.B. Horner as “thou understandeth” (*BD* VI, p. 127).⁴

Comparing this set of 13 *samuṭṭhāna* with the corresponding passage quoted from the Cullavagga, there seems to be an obvious difference. For the Cullavagga enumerates only six combinations of the three concepts *kāya*, *vācā*, and *citta*: *atth’ āpatti kāyato samuṭṭhāti ...*

⁴ The actual number is 50, not 49 as suggested in *BD* VI, p. xix.

(Vin II 90,30), “there is an offence that arises from the body ...”, etc. This formulation seems to allow for only one origin for a particular offence, while the possibility of combining two or more is not even hinted at.

A further detail seems to differ in the system laid down in the Parivāra. For there is not a single offence arising from *kāya* alone. This may be due to the fact that this particular *samuṭṭhāna* has been inserted in the Cullavagga because of theoretical thinking only. In the same way the combination of *kāya* and *vācā* has been mentioned in the Cullavagga without it actually occurring, as observed in *The entrance to the Vinaya*.⁵ Evidently it was considered more important to think of all possibilities irrespective of their actual occurrence, rather than to leave a gap in the system.

Alternatively it could be suspected that the opinion in *samuṭṭhāna* had changed in this respect during the perhaps considerable time separating Cullavagga and Parivāra. Although we do not possess any sources from which information can be gathered about the development of Buddhist ecclesiastical law during this period, it is certain that there was a continuous development.⁶ In this connection it is therefore not surprising that little, if any, attention has been paid to the origin of offences in the oldest commentary on Vinaya material, namely the explanation of the *pāṭimokkhasutta* embedded in the *Suttavibhaṅga*, even

⁵ Vajirañāṇa: *Vinayamukha: The entrance to the Vinaya*, Vol. I¹1916, Bangkok 27/1965, p. 13. Further I.B. Horner draws attention to: *tattha katamaṃ āpatti no adhikaraṇaṃ: sotāpatti, samāpatti* (Vin II 93,3), “what here is an offence (but) no legal question? Stream-attainment (and) attainment” (I.B. Horner). This, of course, is a play on words, for there is no *āpatti* in a legal context that is not an offence. In contrast to the Theravādins, the Mūlasarvāstivādins have found an offence which is purely *kāyikī* (see R. Gnoli (ed.): *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rome 1978, Serie Orientale Roma 50, p. 74, in the paragraph corresponding to Vin II 90,29–36).

⁶ O. v. Hinüber: *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Jahrgang 1989, Nr. 11, Chapter IX.

if there was an opportunity of doing so, e.g. in *pārājika* 2. Here, different conditions are discussed in the commentary, which might result in committing an *āpatti*, and among them: *theyyacittaṃ ca paccupaṭṭhitam* (Vin III 54,17 etc.), “and the intention to steal arises”. No reference is made to the *samuṭṭhāna*-system expounded in the Cullavagga, and even the wording is markedly different, as *paccupaṭṭhita* is used instead of *samuṭṭhita*.

Although the outline of the *samuṭṭhāna*-system can be deduced from the Parivāra, it is much easier to turn to the pertinent explanation in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī. This commentary quotes three *kārikās*, which contain the different points that should be mentioned in the explanation of *pāṭimokkha*-rules, e.g. *nidāna*: the place such as Vesālī, *puggala*: the person concerned such as Sudinna in *pārājika* 1, *vatthu*: the offence, etc. In the list *samuṭṭhāna* is also found, to which some prominence is given by a further separate *kārikā* on this particular *vidhi*. The relevant passage begins: *sabbāpattīnaṃ kāyo vācā kāyavācā kāyacittam vācācittam kāyavācācittam ti imāni ekaṅgikadvāṅgikativāṅgikāni cha samuṭṭhānāni, yāni sikkhāpadasamuṭṭhānāni ti pi vuccanti* (Kkh 22,30–33), “all offences have the [following] six origins:

1. body
2. speech
3. body-speech
4. body-mind
5. speech-mind
6. body-speech-mind,

which may have one (nos. 1,2), two (nos. 3,4,5), or three (no. 6) members, and which are called ‘origins of the (*pāṭimokkha*-)rules’”.

So this agrees with the corresponding passage in the Cullavagga. Then the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī continues in a more specific way: “The first three without and the remaining three with mind: *acittaka-sacittaka*” (Kkh 22,33 foll.), and, more important still, the following combinations of these six groups of origins are enumerated:

- A. one origin: nos. 4,5,6
- B. two origins: nos. 1 + 4, 2 + 5, 3 + 6, 4 + 6, 5 + 6
- C. three origins: nos. 1 + 2 + 3, 4 + 5 + 6
- D. four origins: nos. 1 + 3 + 4 + 6, 2 + 3 + 5 + 6
- E. five origins: this is explicitly ruled out (Kkh 22,35)
- F. six origins: nos. 1–6

These 13 possible combinations are named after the respective first offence found in the *pāṭimokkhasutta* and considered to arise in that particular way:

- I. *paṭhamapārājika*: no. 4; 1 origin: Sp 271,21: Kkh 25,37
- II. *adinnādāna, pārājika* 2: nos. 4–6 (*sacittaka*); 3 origins: Sp 373,21–24: Kkh 30,26
- III. *sañcaritta, saṃghādisesa* 5: nos. 1–6; 6 origins: Sp 560,7: Kkh 39,27
- IV. *samanubhāsana, saṃghādisesa* 10: no. 6; 1 origin: Sp 611,5: Kkh 46,24
- V. *kathina, nissaggiya* 1: nos. 3,6; 2 origins: Sp 650,25: Kkh 58,6
- VI. *elakaloma, nissaggiya* 16: nos. 1,4; 2 origins: Sp 689,10: Kkh 71,15
- VII. *padasodhamma, pācittiya* 4: nos. 2,5; 2 origins: Sp 744,9: Kkh 84,19
- VIII. *addhāna, pācittiya* 27: nos. 1,3,4,6; 4 origins: Sp 807,30: Kkh 100,16
- IX. *theyyasattha, pācittiya* 66: nos. 4,6; 2 origins: Sp 868,28: Kkh 126,17
- X. *dhammadesana, sekkiya* 57: no. 5; 1 origin: Sp 898,29: Kkh 153,21
- XI. *bhūtārocana, pācittiya* 8: nos. 1,2,3; 3 origins: Sp 752,34: Kkh 86,23
- XII. *corivutṭhāpana, bhikkhunī-saṃghādisesa* 2: nos. 5,6; 2 origins: Sp 910,22: Kkh 162,18
- XIII. *ananuññāta, bhikkhunī-pācittiya* 80: nos. 2,3,5,6; 4 origins: Sp 943,18: Kkh 101,6

This classification, explained very clearly and in great detail at Kkh 22,3*–23,30, is also dealt with, but very briefly, in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* (Sp 270,17–271,19). Here only half the origins are mentioned and the reader is simply referred to the Parivāra, where the origins “will be evident” (*āvibhavissanti*, Sp 270,20). Even the few names given in the

Samantapāsādikā point to a system slightly different from the one in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī:

- a. six origins
- b. four origins
- c. three origins
- d. *kaṭhina*
- e. *eḷakaloma*
- f. *dhuranikkhepa* (Sp 270,21–24 [ending with °ādi “etc.”]).

This paragraph in the Samantapāsādikā refers to *pārājika* 1, about which it is said: “according to the origin it has one origin, according to members (*aṅga*) there is a double origin, [for it] arises from body-mind” (Sp 271,22 foll.). At the same time this gives at least a hint at the technical meaning of *aṅga* as used in references to *samuṭṭhāna*, which, again, has been neatly explained in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī (Kkh 22,32) as quoted above.

Following this system, the Samantapāsādikā regularly uses *chasamuṭṭhāna*, Sp 560,7 (= Kkh 39,29); Sp 574,19 (= Kkh 41,36); Sp 662,19 (against: *sañcaritta*, Kkh 63,35); Sp 664,28 (against: *sañcaritta*, Kkh 64,24, etc.);⁷ *catusamuṭṭhāna*, Sp 807,30 (against: *addhāna*, Kkh 100,16); Sp 842,7 (against *addhāna*, Kkh 112,9, etc.).

The last head-word refers to *pācittiya* 27 only in the context of *samuṭṭhāna*; otherwise it is called *saṃvidhāna* (Sp 869,6 = Kkh 126,23, cf. also Vin V 86,23*). Normally the name of the rule and the name of the *samuṭṭhāna* are identical.

These two groups, *chasamuṭṭhāna-sañcaritta* (or: *sañcari* [Vin V 87,26*] in the meta-language of the *uddānas*) and *catusamuṭṭhāna*-

⁷ Further instances can easily be found by means of the very helpful notes in *BD* VI, pp. 124–31, where all references to the *pāṭimokkha*-rules have been traced. The commentaries do not always give the name of the pertinent *samuṭṭhāna*, but refer back to preceding rules of identical origin, etc.: *kuṭṭi-kārasikkhāpade vuttanayen’ eva vedītabbaṃ saddhiṃ samuṭṭhānādīhi* (Sp 575,17), and similarly: *samuṭṭhānādīhi catutthasaddissān’ eva* (Kkh 66,2), both commenting on *nissaggiya* 7.

addhāna, are well defined by giving only the number of origins, as these are not shared by any other group.

At first glance, things seem to be rather confusing in respect to *tisamuṭṭhāna* (Sp 549,30) against: *adinnādāna* (Kkh 37,34 etc.), although the Samantapāsādikā usually enumerates the three relevant origins to remove any possible doubt. Beginning with *pācittiya* 60, however, only *tisamuṭṭhāna* (Sp 864,16) against: *adinnādāna* (Kkh 123,34) is mentioned. There is, however, no want of clearness, as the second group, to which *tisamuṭṭhāna* would apply, comprises only a single rule: *bhūtārocana* (Sp 752,34 = Kkh 86,23). The same is valid for the last two items of the set of 13 groups, *corīvuṭṭhāpana* and *ananuññāta*. Therefore the Samantapāsādikā, being well aware of this, combines these three items as *niyata* “restricted (i.e. to one rule: *sikkhāpada*)”: *etān’ eva tīṇi sikkhāpadāni niyatasamuṭṭhānāni, aññehi saddhiṃ asambhinna-samuṭṭhānāni* (Sp 1305,12–14), “for these three rules have a ‘restricted’ origin that is not an origin ‘shared’ with other (rules)”.⁸

This special position of the groups nos. XI–XIII within the set accounts for the obvious break in the sequence of the head-words selected, which suddenly jumps backwards from no. X *dharmadesana*, *sekkhiya* 57 to no. XI *bhūtārocana*, *pācittiya* 8, which has been noted without further comment in *BD* VI, p. 130 note 19.

The next two groups mentioned in the Samantapāsādikā concur with nos. V and VI in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī. Consequently, they do not create any problem, in strong contrast to the very last name. For *dhuranikkhepa* is not used at all in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, which has *samanubhāsana* instead. This, however, is not alien to the Samantapāsādikā either: *samanubhāsana* occurs at Sp 611,5 = Kkh 46,24, where it is introduced as the name of a particular group following the usage of the Parivāra. In *pācittiya* 64, however, the Samantapāsādikā suddenly

⁸ This shows that *niyata* (Vin V 86,16*) does not mean “regularized” as translated at *BD* VI, p. 123, but “restricted (to only one rule)”, though the verse as a whole remains difficult.

changes to *dhuranikkhepa* (Sp 866,32), perhaps because the expression *dhuraṃ nikkhattamatte* (Sp 866,15) is quoted from Vin IV 128,5 and commented on in this paragraph. In contrast to normal usage it is not the name of this *pāṭimokkha*-rule, which is called *duṭṭhulla* (Sp 867,1). In this respect it is similar to *saṃvidhāna: addhāna*, discussed above.

From then on *dhuranikkhepa* is employed, though somewhat irregularly it seems, for no rule can be found in the erratic changes between the names of this *samuṭṭhāna*. The subcommentaries do not offer any help concerning the designation *dhuranikkhepa*. When commenting on *pakiṇṇaka* (Sp 270,16), they simply refer to the possible alternative use of *dhuranikkhepa* and *samanubhāsana* at Sp-ṭ (B^e) II 96,11 in a long and detailed explanation of the *samuṭṭhāna*, which is substantially the same as in the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī*, and at Vmv (B^e) II 149,9 very briefly and in passing, while the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* is altogether silent on this point. No subcommentary deemed it necessary to waste any words on the change from *samanubhāsana* to *dhuranikkhepa* in commenting on *pācittiya* 64.

A second difference from the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī* can, on the other hand, easily be explained. Wherever the *Samantapāsādikā* chooses numbers such as *chasamuṭṭhāna* as opposed to *sañcaritta*, it simply follows a system also found in the *Parivāra*, e.g.: *chahi samuṭṭhānehi* (Vin V 9,4). If this is abandoned, and names such as *kaṭhina* or *eḷakalomaka* (nos. V, VI) are preferred to **dvisamuṭṭhāna*, a name apparently never used in the commentaries in contrast to *dvīhi samuṭṭhānehi* (Vin V 8,23 etc.), in the *Parivāra*, the reason is obvious. Here only the names prevent confusion, as there are four groups with a double origin: *kaṭhina*, *eḷakaloma*, *padasodhamma*, and *theyyasattha* (nos. V, VI, VII, IX). Correspondingly, *paṭhamapārājika* is preferred to *ekasamuṭṭhāna* (cf. Vin V 5,16 etc.), because of *samanubhāsana* / *dhuranikkhepa* and *bhūtārocana* (nos. I, IV, X) all being subject to arising from only one origin. Where there are three groups sharing an equal number of origins, even the distinction between *sambhinna* “shared” and *niyata* “restricted” would fail to provide the necessary clarity.

Comparing the three Vinaya texts, the *Parivāra* being by far the oldest, and the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī* and the *Samantapāsādikā* being thought to be more or less contemporaneous, the following differences can be noted:

In the third chapter of the *Parivāra* all 13 names of *samuṭṭhāna* groups are given, but only *kaṭhina* (Vin V 12,3 etc.), *eḷakalomaka* (Vin V 14,15 etc.), and *padasodhamma* (only Vin V 16,35) are actually used in the first chapter on the Mahā- (i.e. Bhikkhu-) Vibhaṅga, while *dhuranikkhepa* (Vin V 55,15, and frequently in the following paragraphs), *paṭhamapārājika*, (Vin V 56,14 etc.), *kaṭhina*, (Vin V 57,33 etc.), *eḷakalomaka*, (Vin V 59,12 etc.), *theyyasattha*, (Vin V 60,27 etc.), and *padasodhamma* (only Vin V 70,16) all occur in the second chapter on the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga*. In both these chapters, however, the pertinent *samuṭṭhāna* is mostly referred to only by its number. Although the complete set of 13 names is available in the third chapter of the *Parivāra*, only two names have been used frequently in the first chapter, and six in the second chapter. Only in the latter does *dhuranikkhepa* occur, whereas *samanubhāsana* is avoided. Therefore one might suspect that *dhuranikkhepa* as a name of a *samuṭṭhāna* may originally have been a Vinaya word preferred by the nuns.

On the whole, the first two chapters of the *Parivāra* are much more circumstantial than later texts in the paragraphs concerning *samuṭṭhāna*. For phrases such as “arises from one origin such as body ...”, etc., or “arises from two origins as in the *kaṭhina*-group” could have been, and actually are, simplified by merely referring to the respective names of origins as enumerated in the third chapter of the *Parivāra*.

A much better systematization has been achieved in this respect in the *Samantapāsādikā*, in spite of some shortcomings if two names for one group interchange. It should be noted that the *Samantapāsādikā*, while extending the use of *dhuranikkhepa* to the *Bhikkhupāṭimokkha*, has not been influenced by the *Parivāra* in selecting either name: the *Parivāra*, which counts the *pārājika*-rules of the *bhikkhunīs* as nos. 5–8, has *dhuranikkhepa* (Vin V 55,15) in *pārājika* 5, in contrast to *samanubhāsana* (Sp 904,13).

Finally, in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, the designation *dhuranikkhepa* has been removed from the text. At the same time only the set of 13 names found in the Parivāra has been used consistently. Thus some kind of progress in handling and systematizing this difficult material can be observed. This is perhaps most evident at the end of the commentary on the rules of the *pāṭimokkha*, e.g. of *nissaggiya* 1, where the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī needs three lines (Kkh 58,6–8) in comparison to six needed by the Samantapāsādikā (Sp 650, 24–29) for the same matter.

Earlier Vinaya texts, however, are not distinguished in this respect alone from later ones, which occasionally also introduce new elements in the form of new concepts or terminology.

Thus it is said in the *ekuttaraka*-chapter of the Parivāra in the *ekaka*-paragraph: *sāvajjapaññatti āpatti jānitabbā anavajjapaññatti āpatti jānitabbā* (Vin V 115,8), “an offence that has been prescribed as ‘blamable’ should be known, an offence that has been prescribed as ‘non-blamable’ should be known”. As this classification is mentioned here for the first time and without any comment or example, it is impossible to control the explanation given in the Samantapāsādikā: *sāvajjapaññatti ti lokavajjā, anavajjapaññatti ti paṇṇattivajjā* (Sp 1319,26), “blamable means blamable because of common opinion, non-blamable means blamable because of an instruction (by the Buddha)”.⁹ The terms *lokavajja* and *paṇṇattivajja* are used very frequently by both the Samantapāsādikā and the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, and they replace the apparently older pair *sāvajja-*, *anāvajjapaññatti*, which are preserved only in the passage quoted above from the Parivāra and echoed once in: *anantarāyikā paṇṇattivajjā anavajja-paññatti ti ca vuttam ... °āpatti antarāyikā lokavajjasāvajjapaññattito* (Vjb (B^c) 553,7).

The more recent terms *lokavajja* and *paṇṇattivajja* emerge for the first time in the Milindapañha: *lokavajjam paṇṇattivajjam ... udake hassa-*

⁹ In spite of a correct explanation of this sentence in the footnote accompanying the translation, the text itself is mistranslated as “an offence the description (of which) is ‘blamable’ ...”, *BD* VI, p. 172 and note 9.

dhammam mahārāja lokassa anavajjam, tam jinasāsane vajjam (Mil 266,19–28), “blamable by the world, ... blamable by the regulation (of the Vinaya) ... playing in the water is, sire, blameless in the world, but is blamable in the Dispensation of the Conqueror” (I.B. Horner: *Milinda's Questions* II, 1969, pp. 83 foll.). Although quite a few new words and forms are introduced by the Milindapañha into the Pāli vocabulary such as *iha* for older *idha* (CPD), *kaṭumika* (CPD), *jaṭhara* or *lipi*,¹⁰ *lokavajja: paṇṇattivajja* may surface here perhaps by mere chance, because the idea as such is much older, as the Parivāra shows. Two things, however, are striking. Instead of *paññatti* (Vin V 115,15), the form *paṇṇatti* is used in the Milindapañha and consistently in the Vinaya commentaries in *paṇṇattivajja*, which even intrudes into the quotation of *anavajja-*, *paṇṇattivajja* in the Vajirabuddhiṭikā. It seems impossible to decide whether an old eastern oral tradition is brought to the surface here, providing a further example of an old eastern Vinaya term,¹¹ or whether this rather mirrors the later Middle Indic development of *-ññ-* > *-ṇṇ-* (*Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*, § 250).¹²

The second point is perhaps more interesting. In the Milindapañha *hassadhamma* comes under the category *lokassa anavajja* (Mil 266,28). This refers to *udake hāsadhammam pācittiyaṃ* (Vin IV 112,22** [*pācittiya* 53]), which is said to be *lokavajjam* (Sp 861,21), which is confirmed by Kkh 119,34. There is, however, no contradiction between the Vinaya commentaries and the Milindapañha, when the behaviour described in other *pāṭimokkha*-rules is attributed to *lokassa anavajja* in the latter text: *vikālabhojana* and *bhūtagāmaṅkopaṇa* refer to *pācittiya* 37 and

¹⁰ Cf. K.R. Norman: *Pāli Literature* (A History of Indian Literature, VII,2), Wiesbaden 1983, p. 111.

¹¹ Cf. *sammānatti*, etc.: O. v. Hinüber: *The Oldest Pāli Manuscript*. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Jahrgang 1991, Nr. 6, p. 13.

¹² The reading *paṇṇatti* with *-ṇṇ-*, not *-ññ-*, is confirmed throughout by the Milindapañha manuscript from Vat Lai Hin, North Thailand, dated AD 1495, cf. *JPTS* XI, 1987, pp. 111–19 and XII, 1988, pp. 173 foll.

11 respectively, which are classified as *paññattivajja* (Sp 838,7 and 769,12). Both offences are typical of the misbehaviour of monks, while there is nothing wrong if a layman eats at any time or digs the earth. Nor was it considered indecent or offensive for laymen to enjoy a bath, as is well known from innumerable references in classical Sanskrit literature. This may actually have induced the author of this passage in the Milindapañha to take *hassadhamma* as *lokassa anavajja* corresponding to *paññattivajja*, for which he gives a definition that differs from the one found in later legal literature: *dasa akusalakammamāthā idam vuccati lokavajjam* (Mil 266,20 foll.), in contrast to: *yassa sacittakapakke cittaṃ akusalam eva hoti taṃ lokavajjam nāma, sesaṃ paññattivajjam*, (Sp 229,2 foll. ≠ Kkh 24,13–15). At the same time the Samantapāsādikā considers the 10 *akusalakammamāthā* as enumerated at D III 269,1–4 or Vibh 391,25–27 as *akusaladhamma*, which are divided into *kāya-*, *vācī-*, and *mano-duccarita* (Sp 134,11–16). This does not have any connection with the classification as *sa-citta: a-citta* of the *pāṭimokkha*-rules, which can be seen quite clearly, e.g. at Sp 271,25–30: the *akusalacitta* conditioning *pārājika* 1 is *lobhacitta*, which does not figure among the *akusalakammamāthā*.

Thus both texts, the Milindapañha on the one hand, and the Samantapāsādikā/Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī on the other, use different definitions of *lokavajja*, and within their respective definitions the classification seems to be consistent. Again, it is impossible to tell whether this remarkable difference should be interpreted in terms of chronology, i.e. understood as a development of Theravāda ecclesiastical law, or as sectarian.¹³ If the

¹³ Attention is drawn to this important alternative in explaining differences among different Vinayas by G. Schopen, "On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure", *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 10, 1992, pp. 1–39, especially p. 4. In spite of Schopen's brilliant argument, I am convinced that the Pāli Vinaya is by far the oldest extant text of its type. This, of course, does not mean that other Vinayas do not very occasionally contain very old material, while the Mūlarsarvāstivāda-Vinaya seems especially to be penetrated by the spirit of innovation. This, however, needs much more research, and these remarks are not meant to diminish the highly interesting and important results of Schopen's

latter were correct, this would point to the Milindapañha as being some sort of an intruder into the Theravāda tradition, importing a new idea which in this particular case has not been accepted by the Mahāvihāra orthodoxy.

For modern interpreters of the Vinaya, the divisions *sacittaka: acittaka* and *lokavajja: paññattivajja* remain meaningful, and the latter is even developed in a rather bold way quite in contrast to the *samuṭṭhāna*, which are thought to be "superfluous and unclear" by Vajirañāṇa, the 10th Saṃgharāja of Thailand, in his *Vinayamukhā: The entrance to the Vinaya*, I, pp. 12–16, especially p. 13.

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contribution as a whole. It would be interesting to know if there are traces of a similar *samuṭṭhāna*-classification in Vinaya schools other than the Theravāda. If the Samantapāsādikā was translated into Chinese under Dharmaguptaka influence as stated by P.V. Bapat: *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha*, Poona 1970, p. 1, this school at least did not seem to have been very familiar with this concept as the gross mistranslation of Sp 62,17–21 (p. 422), the somewhat surprising translation of Sp 228,1 foll. (p. 169) and other instances show. The pair *sāvadyam: anavadyam* turns up in *pātayaṃtika* 75 (Sarvāstivāda) in: G. v. Simson: *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*. Teil I. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden XI. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 155. Göttingen 1986, p. 229 (SHT 538, Bl. 26R4). However, the sentence containing the relevant words occurs in only one manuscript, and is missing in others.

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THE RAKṢĀ LITERATURE OF THE ŚRĀVAKAYĀNA*

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* This is a revised and expanded version of a paper delivered at the Tenth Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Paris, 20 July 1991.

The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna

Introduction

In the present paper, I will discuss what I term the “rakṣā literature of the Śrāvakayāna”. I have chosen the term *rakṣā* — “protection” or more specifically “protective text” — because it occurs in both Sanskrit and Pali, the latter in the equivalent form *rakkhā*, as in the Sanskrit and Pali versions of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*.¹ In meaning it is no different from the well-known Pali term *paritta*, the use of which, however, seems restricted to Pali.² (In Sanskrit *paritrāṇa* occurs frequently as a synonym of *rakṣā*, but in the sense of the *protection sought or offered* rather than *protective text*. Other synonyms of *rakṣā* in the former sense include *gupti*, *parigraha*, *paripālana*, and *āvaraṇa* in Sanskrit,³ and *gutti* and *paritta* in Pali.⁴)

The *rakṣā* phenomenon was pan-Buddhist (and indeed pan-Indian), in that the invocation of protection against disease, calamity, and malignant spirits through the office of spiritual attainment, profession of truth, *mantras*, or deities was a practice widely resorted to by both the Śrāvaka- and Mahā-yānas.

The concept of *rakṣā* appears in various forms in Buddhist literature. The presence of the Buddha — who is described by such epithets as *akutobhaya*, “without fear from any quarter”,⁵ or *khemamkara*, “granter

¹ Sanskrit *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, 37.3 *āṭānāṭikam sūtram vidyām rakṣām*; Pali *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta*, *DN* (32) III 203.1 *āṭānāṭiyā rakkhā*.

² See *Jātaka* II 35.7, *imaṃ parittaṃ imaṃ rakkham*. Cf. Lévi 1915, p. 20 and de Silva pp. 3–5.

³ *MhMVR*(T) 13.1, 15.2; *Mahāśītavatī* 2.9; *GM* I 56.10, in the common phrase *rakṣāvaraṇagupti*.

⁴ *Vin* II 110.6; *AN* II 72.27.

⁵ *Theragāthā* 510, *Therīgāthā* 333, etc.

of security”¹ — itself bestowed protection. In the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, Soṇadaṇḍa says that “in whatever town or village the *samaṇa* Gotama stays, non-humans do not harm the people of that town or village” (*DNI* 116.14, *samaṇo khalu bho gotamo yasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati na tasmim gāme vā nigame vā amanussā manusse viheṭṭenti*).² A similar statement is made in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*,³ and a similar idea occurs in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavibhaṅga* in Tibetan and Chinese translation, where the presence of the Buddha is one of the protections against “zombies” or *vetādas*.⁴

It is therefore no accident that in the earliest images of Mathurā, Gandhāra, Amarāvati, and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the Buddha, whether seated or standing, is nearly always depicted in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the “gesture

¹ *MNI* 386.13.

² A close parallel occurs in the Chinese counterpart, no. 22 of the *Dīrghāgama* (95b12–14): “Moreover: whichever place the Śramaṇa Gautama reaches, the inhumans and demons would not dare to harass it”. (Translation by K. Meisig, “Chung Têh King — The Chinese Parallel to the Soṇadaṇḍa-Sutta”, in V.N. Jha (ed.), *Kalyāṇa-Mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1991, p. 54.)

³ *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 21.21 = D 558, *rgyud*, *pha*, 75a2.

⁴ *Vinayavibhaṅga*, Q 1032, ‘*dul ba, che*, 128b5 foll; T 1442, Vol. 23. *Vetāda* is the preferred orthography of the Mūlasarvāstivādins: cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu* I, 175.6,7,10; II 238.24; R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rome, 1978, p. 22.5,6,9. The same spelling occurs in non-Mūlasarvāstivādin texts: see references at *BHSD* 508a; *MhMVR*(T) 38.3, 42.10; *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 32.1,14; and the title *Saptavetāḍaka-nāmadhāraṇī* in both the Peking (Q 351, Vol. 7, *rgyud*, *ba*, 231a7) and Stog Palace (Skorupski no. 574) editions of the *Kanjur*. See also *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* 55.6, 57.6, where *vetāda* is given as a variant. The preferred Pali spelling, at least in the Burmese and Siamese editions, is *vetāla*, rather than the *vetāla* of the *PTSD* (647a): see K. Meisig, *Das Śrāmanyaphala-sūtra*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 216, note 13.

of dispelling fear".¹ (Indeed, the symbol of the open hand, which appears even earlier at Bhārhut along with the "aniconic" representation of the Buddha through his footprints, might also represent this *mudrā*.)² In Mūlasarvāstivādin literature the hand of the *bodhisattva* or of the Buddha is called "bringing relief to the fearful" (*bhūtānām āsvāsanakara*);³ the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, commenting on the walk (*caṅkrama*) of the Buddha, says "toujours il lève la main droite pour rassurer les êtres".⁴ While more complex *mudrās* were evolved over the centuries, the *abhaya-mudrā* never lost its popularity. With the course of time, certain revered images of the Buddha (or of *bodhisattvas*) were themselves held to confer protection.

The very act that defines a Buddhist is the "taking of refuge" (*śaraṇa-gamana*) in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha, and the formula of "triple refuge" opens virtually all Buddhist rites, including the recitation of *paritta*. A verse in the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* states that "they who go for refuge in the Buddha will not go to the lower realms: leaving behind their human form [at death], they swell the ranks of the gods" (*DN II 255.3–5, ye keci buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatāse, na te gamissanti apāyam; pahāya mānuṣaṃ dehaṃ devakāyaṃ paripūressanti*).⁵

¹ See D.L. Snellgrove (ed.), *The Image of the Buddha*, Paris, 1978, p. 56 and pls. 29–32 (Mathurā); p. 61 and pls. 33(c), 34, and 35 (Gandhāra), p. 81 and pl. 46 (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvati).

² See *The Image of the Buddha*, pl. 8, to be compared perhaps with pl. 51 from Amarāvati.

³ *Saṅghabhedavastu I 114 ult.* Cf. also *Mahābala-sūtra 22.9, 67.16.*

⁴ *Mpps V 2316*; cf. also *Mpps III 1345* and *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I, fasc. 1, pp. 20–21, *abhaya-dāna*.

⁵ An equivalent verse occurs in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and, with similar verses on the Dharma and the Saṃgha, in the *Sūkarikāvādāna* (*Divy 195.26, 196.5*).

Another type of protection is the result of spiritual practice: the *Mettānisamsa-sutta*, a canonical *paritta*, for example, lists eleven benefits from the cultivation of friendliness.¹ In this paper I will deal with a further type, the protection that results from the recitation of certain texts, that is, protection through speech, the spoken word.

A distinguishing mark of the *rakṣā* literature is that it was actually used — that is, memorised and recited for specific purposes — by both monks and lay-followers, from a very early date. This is in contrast with the bulk of the canonical literature which would only have been studied by the assiduous few, mainly monk-scholars. *Rakṣā* texts would no doubt have been known by heart by the monks, and by some devout lay followers, as are the *paritta* of the Theravādins up to the present day. Thus the *rakṣā* literature contains texts which, from great antiquity, were regularly employed rather than simply preserved or transmitted. The only comparable classes of texts are the *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* and *Karmavākyas* — essential to the routine of the *bhikṣu-* and *bhikṣuṇī-saṃghas* — and, in a somewhat different sense, the tales of the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*, told and retold in sermons up to the present day.²

When I speak of the "rakṣā literature of the Śrāvakayāna", I refer here to four specific classes of texts:

- 1) the *paritta* of the Theravādins;
- 2) the *Mahāsūtras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins;
- 3) the *svasti-*, *svastyayana-*, or *maṅgala-gāthā* of various schools; and
- 4) certain texts of the *Pañcarakṣā* collections.³

¹ *AN V 342.1–14*. See also the eight benefits of *mettā* at *AN IV 150–51.13*, and cp. the similar passage incorporated into the *Megha-sūtra*, p. 294.

² I am grateful to Sally Mellick (Oxford) for pointing out the popular didactic use of the *Apadāna* literature.

³ The use of the plural "collections" will be made clear in the appropriate section.

But these classes are by no means watertight: the *paritta*, the *Mahāsūtras*, and the *Pañcarakṣā* contain *svastigāthā*, the *Pañcarakṣā* contain *paritta*, and so on. All four are traditional classifications of various schools, and I have adopted them as a convenient basis upon which to open my presentation of the *rakṣā* literature: an *upāya* which I hope will prove *kausalya*. There may well have been other classes or categories; some of the manuscripts retrieved from the sands of Central Asia, for example, seem to be *rakṣā* collections.¹ We know next to nothing of the *rakṣā* literature of the Buddhist schools whose scriptures have not come down to us. The Mādhyamika scholar Bhavya (circa 500–70 A.C.?)² cites a passage from the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* of the Siddhārthas, whom he classifies in this case under the Mahāsāṃghikas.³ According to Candrakīrti (circa 600–50 A.C.),⁴ one of the seven *piṭakas* of the Pūrvaśailas and Aparāśailas — offshoots of the Mahāsāṃghikas — was a *Vidyādhara (rig 'dzin) Piṭaka*;⁵ according to Chi-tsang (549–623 A.C.) and Paramārtha (mid 6th century), one of the five *piṭakas* of the Dharmaguptakas was a “*piṭaka* of magic formulas”.⁶ According to Hsüan-tsang (first half of the 7th century), one of the five *piṭakas* of the

¹ See Ernst Waldschmidt, *Kleine Brāhmī-Schriftrolle*, Göttingen, 1959, for some possible examples.

² For Bhavya and his date, see Ruegg 1981 pp. 61–66.

³ *Tarkajvālā*, Q 5256, Vol. 96, *dbu ma, dza*, 190a6, D 3856, *dbu ma, dza*, 175b1, *dge 'dun (Q sloṅ) phal chen sde'i nañ tshan don grub pa rnam rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod*.

⁴ Ruegg 1981 p. 71.

⁵ Per K. Sorensen, *Candrakīrti, Trisāraṇasaptati, the Septuagint on the Three Refuges*, Vienna, 1986, pp. 51–53 (vv. 57–58).

⁶ Paul Demiéville, “L'origine des sectes bouddhiques d'après Paramārtha”, in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Vol. I, Brussels, 1932, p. 61. Demiéville translates “formules magiques”, and gives *dhāraṇī* and *mantra* as Sanskrit equivalents. Matsunaga 1977, p. 169, refers to a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* of the same school.

Mahāsāṃghikas was a *Mantra-piṭaka*.¹ I-ching (635–713 A.C.) mentions a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* in 100,000 *ślokas*;² the *Ādikarmapradīpa* cites a verse from a work of the same title.³ Such collections may well have included *rakṣās*, such as that cited from a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva (first part of 8th century).⁴ From all this we may conclude that by the 6th century (at the very latest) Śrāvaka schools of the Mahāsāṃghika fold — the Pūrvaśailas, Aparāśailas, and Siddhārthas — as well as the Dharmaguptakas transmitted a separate *piṭaka*, most probably devoted to *mantras* and spells, known as the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*.⁵

In a broader sense, the *rakṣā* phenomenon permeates Buddhist literature in general, and cannot be restricted to certain classes of texts. In sections 5 to 7, I will discuss the characteristics of *rakṣā* as a literary phenomenon: its phraseology, and its connection with *mantra* and cults. Although my main topic is the *rakṣā* literature of the Śrāvakayāna, to

¹ Here I follow Lamotte, *Mpp's* IV, 1862. Earlier works give the Sanskrit as *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*: see Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, [London, 1884] Delhi, 1981, II 164–65, and Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, [London, 1904–5] New Delhi, 1973, II 159–60.

² Latika Lahiri, *Chinese Monks in India*, Delhi, 1986, p. 65. I-ching also mentions a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*, pp. 64, 68. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* I 77, “Biniya”.

³ Louis de La Vallée Poussin, “The Vidyādhara-piṭaka”, *JRAS* 1895, pp. 433–36.

⁴ *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 142.12 (date from Ruegg 1981 p. 82). A part of the *mantra* (in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions) is in a Prakrit close to Pali: *namo sabba-sammasambuddhāṇaṃ sījhanu me mantapadāḥ svāhā*. The *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* is also referred to in a work of Buddhaguhya preserved in the *Tanjur*: see Jeffrey Hopkins, *The Yoga of Tibet*, London, 1981, pp. 50–51 (the Tibetan is given at p. 254 as *rig 'dzin gyi sde snod*). See also *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fascicle 4, p. 519.

⁵ It may be seen from the references given above that this term is attested in Sanskrit (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Ādikarmapradīpa*) and Tibetan, wherein *rig 'dzin* = *vidyādhara* (Bhavya, Candrakīrti, Buddhaguhya) cannot possibly be confused with *mantra* (*gsaṅ snags*) or *dhāraṇī* (*gzun*s). There is some disagreement among scholars about the Sanskrit equivalents of the Chinese terms.

study what I have called a pan-Buddhist phenomenon in isolation would be misleading. In sections 8 and 9, I will therefore touch briefly on *rakṣā* and the Mahāyāna and Tantra. As an influential and popular movement, the *rakṣā* phenomenon should have found expression in the plastic arts. Section 10 will examine the archaeological evidence. Finally, section 11 will deal with the rites associated with *rakṣā*.

1. The *paritta* of the Theravādins¹

The *paritta* collections of the Theravādins are distinguished by the fact that they are used in the day-to-day life of both monks and lay-followers. As noted by Malalasekera, "the *Pirit Pota* ... forms part of the meagre library of every Sinhalese household".² Much the same is said for Burma by Mabel Bode: "to this day, [the *paritta* is] more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book".³ Wherever the

¹ The following is an assuredly incomplete bibliography on the *paritta* from the works available to me: E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, pp. 143–44; M.H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, [London, 1909] Rangoon, 1965, pp. 3–4; W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, [Calcutta, 1943] Delhi, 1968, § 17; Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, history, and practices*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 180–82; G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, [1928] 1958, pp. 75–76; É. Lamotte, *Mppś* IV, 1860–61; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda (ed.), *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 173–74; Ven. Piyasilo, *Buddhist Prayer*, Petaling Jaya, 1990, esp. parts III and IV; Shway Yoe, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, New York, 1963, pp. 397–98; Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, pp. 276–80; Phya Anuman Rajadhon, *Popular Buddhism in Siam and Other Essays on Thai Studies*, Bangkok, 1986, pp. 57–67; L. Renou, J. Filliozat, et al., *L'Inde Classique*, tome II, Hanoi 1953, §§ 1982, 2039; S.D. Saparamadu (ed.), *The Polonnaruva Period*, Dehiwala, 1973, p. 139; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, New York, [1933] 1972, pp. 80, 380, note 1, 381. Further references are found in Lily de Silva, pp. xi–xii.

² Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

Theravāda holds sway, the average monk may not know a great deal about the *Tipiṭaka*, but will be able to recite numerous chants from memory.

Although there is evidence of the use of *paritta* from an early date in the *Chronicles* and *Commentaries* of Sri Lanka, references are rather scanty, perhaps because as a popular phenomenon the *paritta* was taken for granted. Table 1 shows the earliest known lists of *paritta* titles: those of the *Milinda-pañha*¹ and the *Aṭṭhakathā* of Buddhaghosa (5th century).² Some of these lists vary somewhat in the modern Burmese, Siamese, and Singhalese printed editions. The *Visuddhimagga* and *Aṭṭhakathā* lists are given in connection with the definition of the "range of the Buddha's authority" (*āṇākkhetta*): one hundred thousand million universes within which the *parittas* are efficacious. There are three basic lists, with some variants in the different editions.³

- 1) Table 1.2.1–4: the four *parittas* "etc." of the *Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, *Aṅguttara-* (*Ekanipāta*), and *Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathās*;
- 2) Table 1.3.1–2: the five *parittas* of the *Visuddhimagga* and *Samantapāsādikā*;
- 3) Table 1.4: the eight *parittas* of the *Mahāniddeśa-* and *Aṅguttara-* (*Tikanipāta*) *Aṭṭhakathās*.

¹ The *Milinda-pañha* is a composite text, dating between the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and the 5th century A.C.: see K.R. Norman, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–13. The section in question comes from one of the later parts.

² I am grateful to Ven. Dhammānanda Mahāthera of Burma, now residing at Wat Tamao, Lampang, for many of these references and for information on the Burmese *paritta* tradition. Cf. his important article (in Thai) "On whether or not the chanting of *paritta* is *tiracchānavijjā*", in Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 191–98.

³ The titles given in the commentary on the *Āṭṭhānāṭṭiya-sutta* (Table 1.5) occur in a different context, and are not discussed here.

Taken together, the *Aṭṭhakathā* lists give eight titles; when the *Āṅgulimāla-paritta* of the *Milinda-pañha* list is added, there are nine titles.

The *paritta* of the Theravādins exists today in a number of recensions. In Sri Lanka there is the *Catubhānavāra* or *Four Recitations*, current in a shorter recension of 22 texts and a longer recension of 29 texts.¹ The shorter recension must be the older of the two: Sri Lankan commentaries of the 12th and the 18th centuries know only the 22 texts,² and the extra seven of the longer version differ somewhat in order and contents in different editions. The *Samantapāsādikā* (5th century A.C.) mentions “four *bhānavāra* from the *suttanta*”, but from the context probably does not refer to the *paritta* collection.³ The earliest definite reference to the four *Bhānavāra* that I am aware of is an inscription of Kassapa V, dated circa 929–39 A.C., from the Jetavana area in Anurādhapura.⁴ Another Sri Lankan collection contains nine texts, and is known in Sinhalese as *Piritnava-sūtraya*;⁵ the nine titles agree with those of the Siamese *Parittasāṅkhepa* (see below).

¹ See L. de Silva, pp. 5–8; Helmer Smith, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Epilegomena to Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1948, pp. 93*–95*; Maria Bidoli and Heinz Bechert, *Singhalesische Handschriften*, Teil 1, Wiesbaden, 1969, § 128, pp. 82–83 (the last named gives an extensive bibliography of printed and manuscript *paritta* collections).

² Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. III, fasc. 4, pp. 694–95, *catubhānavāra*.

³ *Sp* IV 788 ult. I am grateful to L.S. Cousins (Manchester) for this reference.

⁴ “Slab-inscription of Kassapa V”, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* I, London, 1912, pp. 41–57. For further references from commentaries, chronicles, inscriptions, and Sinhala literature, see L. de Silva, pp. 16–22.

⁵ C.E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts*, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, 1980, pp. 25–26. The collection is not otherwise mentioned in the literature I have consulted, and was not known to two senior Sinhalese monks whom I consulted in Penang. Its origins and current status remain to be determined.

In three of the 22 texts of the shorter *Catubhānavāra* — the *Khandhaparitta*, the *Dhajaggaparitta*, and the *Ājānāṭiyasutta* — the Buddha himself recommends that they be used as *rakkhā*. Thus their use as such is very old. In another seven texts — the *Moraparitta*, the *Candaparitta*, the *Suriyaparitta*, the three *Bojjhaṅgaparittas*, and the *Girimānandaparitta* — protection is granted through the recitation of verses or the teachings of the Buddha, while the *Maṅgala-* and *Ratana-suttas* deal with *maṅgala* and *suvaṭṭhi*, the “positive side” of *rakṣā*. The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins and other schools also used as *rakṣā* their own counterparts of the *Khandha-*, *Dhajagga-*, *Ājānāṭiya-*, *Mora-*, and *Canda-parittas*, along with the *Maṅgala-* and *Ratana-suttas*.¹ This further establishes the antiquity of the *rakṣā* status of these texts.

A Burmese manuscript dated 1842 A.C. contains the shorter *Catubhānavāra* with one extra *sutta* to total 23 texts; otherwise the contents, order, and division into *bhānavāras* are the same as in the Sri Lankan recension.² The *Catubhānavāra* is not, however, recited or even generally known in Burma today, and its exact status in the past remains to be determined. The recitation of *paritta* is referred to in Pagan inscriptions.³ The standard collection used in Burma today consists of 11 texts called simply *Paritta* (or sometimes *Mahāparitta*), for which see Table 2A. All but three of the texts of this collection (nos. 1, 6, 11) are named in the *Milindapañha* and *Aṭṭhakathā* lists. The contents and order of the Burmese *Paritta* are closely related to the *paritta* list of the

¹ These will be discussed below under *Mahāsūtra*, *svastigāthā*, and *Pañcarakṣā*.

² Heinz Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts*, part 2, Stuttgart, 1985, no. 352, pp. 173–75; the extra text, no. 20 of the manuscript, is entitled *Sammāsambuddhajojjhaṅgam*; according to the editors it is equivalent to *SN* V 81 foll. Since this is the only description of a Burmese *Catubhānavāra* that I have come across, I cannot say whether or not it is typical.

³ G.H. Luce, “Economic Life of the Early Burman”, in *Burma Research Society, Fiftieth Anniversary Publications No. 2*, Rangoon, 1960, p. 366 (originally published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* XXX.i, pp. 283–335).

Burmese printed edition of the *Milinda-pañha*; to what degree the one is derived from the other, or the two have mutually influenced each other, requires further research.¹ The *Sīrimaṅgala-paritta*, a modern collection settled during the U Nu period, contains the 11 texts of the *Paritta*, to which it adds another 20 texts to make a total of 31, as shown in Table 2B. The last four are non-canonical, although three of them are styled *-sutta* in their titles and open with *evaṃ me sutam*.²

The *paritta* tradition of Siam has parallels to both the Sri Lankan and Burmese traditions. As in Sri Lanka, in Siam there are two recensions of the *Catubhāṅavāra*. The longer Siamese *Catubhāṅavāra*, however, is equivalent to the older and shorter Sri Lankan recension of 22 texts; the shorter Siamese *Catubhāṅavāra* is an abridged version containing 17 texts. The division of the two Siamese recensions into recitations differs somewhat from that of the Sri Lankan version. Siam has two further recensions, the *Dvādasa-paritta* and the *Satta-paritta*. The former, also known as the *Mahārāja-paritta* or, in Thai, the *Sipsong Tamnan*, contains the first 11 texts of the Burmese *Paritta* plus the *Jaya-paritta*; the latter, also known as the *Cularāja-paritta* or *Jet Tamnan*, is an abridgement of the former and contains, according to the title, 7 texts.³ The contents of these collections are given in Tables 2C and 2D.

¹ The *Jinapañjara-gāthā* lists the seven titles of the Chatṭhasaṅgīti *Milindapañha*, but in a different order.

² *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta* nos. 28–31.

³ Cf. Finot 1917 pp. 53–60; Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities*, Bangkok, 1975, pp. 276–82. A list of the contents of the Siamese *Catubhāṅavāra* is given in the *Royal Chanting Book* p. 112. Most editions of the *Sattaparitta* give more than 7 texts (although Finot lists 7), and I am not certain which are the 7 of the title.

The *Parittasankhepa*, most probably composed at Ayutthaya in the 17th–18th centuries, lists and comments on nine *parittas*:¹

1. *Maṅgala-sutta*
2. *Ratana-sutta*
3. *Metta-sutta*
4. *Khandha-paritta*
5. *Mora-paritta*
6. *Dhajagga-paritta*
7. *Ājānāṭṭiya-paritta*
8. *Āṅgulimālā-paritta*
9. *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*.

The titles are the same as those of the Sri Lankan *Piritnava-sūtraya*.

For the study of the Siamese *paritta* tradition, the most important printed source is the *Royal Chanting Book*. This was compiled at the behest of King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn) by Phussadeva, later to be Supreme Patriarch, when he held the rank of Somdet Braḥ Buddhaghoṣācārya. It was first published in Ratanakosin Era 99 / B.E. 2423 [1880], in an edition of 10,000 copies, and thus preceded the first printed edition of the *Tipiṭaka*, published in 2436 [1893], by thirteen years. Otherwise, there are numerous chanting books, large and small, such as the popular *Suat Mantabidhī*, published in various editions. It is worth noting that the common element in the Thai titles of chanting books is *manta*, usually in the form *suat manta*. *Suat manta* is also the common verb for “to chant”; *suat braḥ paritta* refers to formal ceremonies with string and water, and is hence less common. In titles *paritta* is frequently “Sanskritised” as *paritra*, as in the *Cula-* and *Mahārājaparitra* of the *Royal Chanting Book*.

¹ Supaphan Na Bangchang, *Vivadhānākāra Varrṇagatī sai Braḥ Suttantapiṭaka ti Daeng nai Pradeśa Thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 491–500.

I have been unable to find any evidence for the date or place of origin of the Burmese *Paritta* or the Siamese *Dvādasā-* and *Satta-paritta* collections.¹

In all of these collections the canonical *paritta* texts are set within ancillary opening and closing verses (*paritta-parikamma*, etc.). A synoptic edition of these verses is a desideratum.

In addition to the *paritta* properly speaking, there exist in Pali numerous non-canonical texts, both prose and verse, of a protective nature. To my knowledge, only one of these has been edited or studied: the *Mahāḍibbamanta*.² The others have not yet been properly catalogued or even listed. In classifying this sort of extra-canonical literature, we might distinguish (A) apocryphal *sutta* texts, opening with the *evaṃ me sutam* formula, and (B) *gāthā* or other texts recognised as having had an historical author, that make no claim to be *Buddhavacana* as such. Here I give a very preliminary list:

(A) Apocryphal *suttas*

1. *Ākāravatta-sutta* (or, more frequently, *-sūtra*);³

¹ Cf. L. de Silva pp. 7 and 14 for the term *mahāpirit* or *mahāparitta* in Sri Lanka. According to H. Saddhatissa (*The Birth-Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas and the Dasabodhisattuppattikathā*, London, 1975, p. 37), the *Dvādasaparitta* was "presumably introduced to Ceylon by Siamese *theras* headed by Mahāthera Upāli who arrived in the island in 1753 A.C." This suggests that the origin of the *Dvādasaparitta* (and hence its abridgement, the *Satta-paritta*) is to be sought in Siam, or at least South-east Asia.

² Jaini 1965.

³ *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 21.2; O. von Hinüber, "The Pāli Manuscripts kept at The Siam Society, Bangkok, a Short Catalogue", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 75, 1987, no. 47, pp. 43–44. The text does not seem to be known in Burma.

2. *Dhāraṇa-paritta*;¹
3. *Chadisapāla-sutta*;²
4. *Cakkaparitta-sutta*;³
5. *Parimittajāla-sutta*.⁴

(B) *Gāthā* and other texts

1. *Aṭṭhavisati-paritta*⁵
2. *Jinapañjara-gāthā*;⁶
3. *Jayamaṅgala-gāthā*⁷
4. *Aṭṭhamāṅgala-gāthā*;⁸
5. *Uppātasanti*;⁹
6. *Jaya-paritta*;¹⁰

¹ *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 20.8. Although the printed editions that I have seen do not open with *evaṃ me sutam*, the latter half of the text is addressed to Ānanda. The text has apparently been recently introduced to Siam from Burma. Dhammānanda 1992 p. 441, *Āvenikagaṇa*, gives the opening on the 18 *āvenikagaṇa*, with a note on their Pāli sources.

² *Sīrimāṅgalaparitta* no. 28. This and the next two texts are not known in Siam.

³ *Sīrimāṅgalaparitta* no. 29.

⁴ *Sīrimāṅgalaparitta* no. 30.

⁵ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 39–40. On the evidence of an 11th century Thaton inscription, this is the earliest attested non-canonical *paritta*: see G.H. Luce, "The Advent of Buddhism to Burma", in L. Cousins, A. Kunst, and K.R. Norman (ed.), *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, p. 133. I am grateful to Lance Cousins for this reference.

⁶ A number of recensions have been discussed and edited by the present Supreme Patriarch of Siam, *Prahvati Gāthājinapañjara*, Bangkok, 2529 [1986]. See also Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 199–201.

⁷ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 92–94 (*bāhuṃ*).

⁸ Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 438–40.

⁹ *Sīrimāṅgalaparitta* no. 31; Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 385–435. The text, believed to have been composed in Chiangmai, was reintroduced to Siam from Burma by Ven. Dhammānanda.

¹⁰ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 25–27 (*mahākāruṇiko nātho*).

7. *Āṭānāṭṭiya-paritta*;¹
8. *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*;²
9. *Mahādibbamanta*;³
10. *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipiṭaka*.⁴

A number of these, along with the *Gini-paritta*, which is not known in South-east Asia, are briefly described by Lily de Silva.⁵ The *Jinapañjara-gāthā*, the *Ākāravatta-sūtra*, the *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipiṭaka*, the *Dhāraṇa-paritta*, and the *Uppātasanti* are especially popular in Siam, where they are published in the numerous collections of chants that are widely available.

Some of these texts, such as the *Ākāravatta-sūtra* and the *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipiṭaka*, are expansions of the *iti pi so* formula, a key element of the ancient *Dhajagga-paritta*.⁶ Others, such as the *Mahādibbamanta*, the *Chadisapāla*, and *Uppātasanti*, derive their efficacy from lists of saints and deities, and thus resemble the canonical *Mahāsamaya*- and *Āṭānāṭṭiya-Suttas*.

¹ I refer here to the text included in the Burmese *Paritta* (no. 8) and the Siamese *Satta*- and *Dvādasa-Parittas*, which consists of the opening verses of homage to the seven Buddhas of the *sutta* proper, plus a series of non-canonical verses: see *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 20–22 and 38–43 (the latter incorporating the *Aṭṭhaviṣati-paritta*).

² The reference is to the text found in the Burmese *Paritta* (no. 10) and the Siamese *Satta*- and *Dvādasa-Parittas*, which is a verse summary of the canonical *Bojjhaṅga-suttas*: see *Royal Chanting Book* p. 23.

³ Jaini 1965.

⁴ *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 21.1.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8–11.

⁶ See also the short texts (some mixed with Thai) at *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 21.3; 22.2, 3, 5; 26.1–3), and Finot 1917 p. 58, *Sut Iti pi so*.

2. The *Mahāsūtras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins

As far as I know, *Mahāsūtra* as a technical term was applied to two collections of *sūtras*:

- (1) a group of eighteen *Mahāsūtras* listed in the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins;
- (2) a group of six or eight *Mahāsūtras* listed in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

These lists, lost in the original Sanskrit, have been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation. Both groups consist of *sūtras* extracted from the *Āgamas* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin tradition; most, but not all, are common to the *Āgamas* of the other early Buddhist schools.

The Sarvāstivādin list of eighteen *Mahāsūtras* (*Ta ching*) occurs in the fourth section, "On Keeping the Rains Retreat" (*An chū fa* = **Varṣāvāsadharmā*), of the ninth chapter, "Seven Dharmas" (*Ch'i fa* = **Saptadharmā*) of the *Vinaya* of that school as translated into Chinese by Puṇyātara and Kumārajīva between 399 and 413 A.C.¹ This is the only known occurrence of the Sarvāstivādin list of *Mahāsūtras*. I will not discuss them here since there is no evidence that they were used as *raṅgās*.² I will only note that the term *Mahāsūtra* must have been in vogue by the 4th century, and that two of the Sarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* (nos. 6 and 7, the *Āṭānāṭṭika* and *Mahāsamāja*) are classed as *paritta* by the Theravādins, and that five (no. 3, the *Pañcatraya*; no. 4, the

¹ T 1435, Vol. 23, 174b18; KBC 890.

² For the list, see A. Hirakawa, *A Study of the Vinaya-Piṭaka (Ritsuzō no Kenkyū)*, in Japanese), Tokyo, 1960, pp. 779–80 and S. Sasaki, "The *Mahāsūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda as listed in the IDan dkar ma Catalogue" (in Japanese), *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō Kenkyū)*, Hamamatsu, Vol. XV, Dec. 1985, p. 100.

Māyājāla; nos. 6 and 7; and no. 12, the *Bimbisāra*) are also classed as *Mahāsūtras* by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin list of *Mahāsūtras* is found in the *Bhikṣu-Vinayavibhāṅga* in both Chinese and Tibetan translation and in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinayavibhāṅga* in Chinese translation only, in connection with the third *pārājikā*. The two Chinese lists (translated at the beginning of the 8th century), which are identical, give the titles of six *Mahāsūtras* (*Ta ching*);¹ the Tibetan list (translated c. 800 A.C.) gives the same six titles in the same order, plus two more to make a total of eight *Mahāsūtras* (*mDo chen po che ba*). I will give here the Tibetan list with equivalent Sanskrit titles:²

1. <i>Chun nu ston pa ñid</i>	<i>Cūḍasūnyatā</i>
2. <i>Chen po ston pa ñid</i>	<i>Mahāśūnyatā</i>
3. <i>lŃa gsum pa</i>	<i>Pañcatraya</i>
4. <i>sGyu ma 'i dra ba</i>	<i>Māyājāla</i>
5. <i>gZugs can sñiñ pos bsu ba</i>	<i>Bimbisārapratyudgamana</i>
6. <i>rGyal mtshan dam pa</i>	<i>Dhvajāgra</i>
7. <i>Kun tu rgyu ba dan kun tu mi rgyu ba dan mthun pa 'i mdo</i>	<i>Ātānāṭīya-sūtra</i> ³
8. <i>Dus pa chen po 'i mdo</i>	<i>Mahāsamāja-sūtra</i>

Nine *Mahāsūtras* — the eight listed above, but with two *Dhvajāgra-sūtras* — were translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye šes sde in about 800 A.C. Although Sanskrit fragments of six of these *sūtras* (nos. 3–8) have been recovered from Central Asia, and

¹ T 1442, Vol. 23, 662a28; T 1443, Vol. 23, 925c6.

² *Vinayavibhāṅga*, Q 1032, 'dul ba, che, 129a5.

³ The title of this text is variously spelt: *Ātānāṭīya* by the Mūlasarvāstivādins (in Tibetan transliteration), *Ātānāṭika* by the Sarvāstivādins (in Central Asian manuscripts), and *Ātānāṭīya* by the Theravādins.

although parallel versions of seven of them (nos. 1, 2, 5, two *Dhvajāgras*, 7, 8) were translated into Chinese, only the Tibetan versions are specifically described as *Mahāsūtras* (*mDo chen po*) in their titles and colophons.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation of the nine Tibetan *Mahāsūtras* is established by the *Vinayavibhāṅga* lists, by the fact that the leading translator, Jinamitra, is described in *Vinaya* colophons as a *vinayadhara* of that school, and by the fact that a contemporary royal edict forbade the translation of any Śrāvakayāna texts apart from those of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.¹

These nine *Mahāsūtras* were originally transmitted to Tibet as a group. In the "lDan (or lHan) dkar ma Palace Catalogue", the oldest extant list of works translated into Tibetan, which dates to the early 9th century, they make up the eighth division, *mDo chen por gtogs pa*, "Category of Great Sūtras".² In his *History of Buddhism* (*Chos 'byun*), completed in 1322 or 1323,³ Bu ston also lists the nine Tibetan titles together, but in a different order.⁴

¹ E. Obermiller, tr., *History of Buddhism* (*Chos-hbyung*) by Bu-ston, II. Part, Heidelberg, 1932, p. 197; Claus Vogel, "Bu-ston on the Schism of the Buddhist Church and on the Doctrinal Tendencies of Buddhist Scriptures", in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hinayāna-Literatur*, part I, Göttingen, 1985, pp. 109–10. The correct Sanskrit should be Vogel's Mūlasarvāstivādin (= Bu ston, Lhasa xylograph, ya, 130b1, *gzi thams cad yod smra*) rather than Obermiller's Sarvāstivādin. Cf. János Szerb, *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*, Vienna, 1990, p. 46.6 and note 8.

² Lalou 1953 pp. 324–25; S. Yoshimura, "The Denkar-Ma, an oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons", Kyoto, 1950 [rep. 1974], p. 23. For the history and date of the lDan dkar ma Catalogue, see Lalou, pp. 313–17; G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, part 2, [Rome, 1958] Delhi, 1986, pp. 46 foll.; D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, London, 1987, pp. 440–41.

³ D.S. Ruegg, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che*, Rome, 1966, p. xvii.

⁴ Bu ston, Lhasa xylograph, ya, 144a4; S. Nishioka, 'Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu Ston's "History of Buddhism" (I)', *Annual Report of the*

The evidence for the *rakṣā* status of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* is found in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* itself, where their recitation is recommended as a protection (*sruṇ ba = rakṣā*) against *vetāḍas* (*ro laṅs*). The commentary by Vinitadeva, the *Vinayavibhaṅgapadavyākhyāna*, also translated about 800 A.C., states:¹

“*Mahāsūtra*” means of great fruit (*mahāphala*), because it overcomes opponents (*parapravādin*) and because it overcomes dangerous *yakṣas*, etc.

Four of the *Mahāsūtras* have counterparts among the *paritta* of the Theravādins: the *Āṭānāṭiya*, the *Mahāsamāja*, and (various elements of) the two *Dhvajāgras*. The principle of selection of the other five is not clear to me.

One other text preserved in Tibetan translation bears the title *Mahāsūtra*: the (*Ārya*) *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*.² The translation, under the title (*'Phags pa*) *Yaṅs pa'i groṅ khyer du 'jug pa'i mdo chen po*, was done by Surendrabodhi and Ye śes sde; since the latter collaborated with the translators of the nine *Mahāsūtras*, the translations were roughly contemporary. Its Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation is shown by the fact that the entire *sūtra* is incorporated into the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Vinaya* of that school in both its Tibetan and Chinese versions.³

Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange, The University of Tokyo, No. 4, 1980, nos. 11–19.

¹ Q 5616, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, vu, 74b2.

² Q 142, 714, 978, translated by Léon Feer in *AMG V*, pp. 423–29. There is possibly one more, the *Mahāśītavana* (Q 180) of the Tibetan *Pañcarakṣā* collection; there are, however, difficulties with the title which can only be resolved by further research.

³ Q 1030, *Vinayavastu*, *smān gyi gzi, bampo* 28, 'dul ba, ge, 42a1–45a4; T. 1448, Vol. 24, 27b11–28b6.

The *Vaiśālīpraveśa* consists of two parts. In the first, the Buddha and Ānanda travel to Vaiśālī; when they arrive, the Buddha tells Ānanda go to the city and recite certain *mantras* and verses. In the second part, Ānanda does the Buddha's bidding, repeating the *mantras* and verses in full. In the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, the events occur during the Buddha's last journey, in a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* expanded by the inclusion of long *jātakas* and *avadānas*; the description of the visit to Vaiśālī, ending with the pacification of the epidemic, resembles the setting of the **Ratnasūtra* in the texts of other schools.¹ The status of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* as a *rakṣā* is clear from the fact that it contains a long *mantra* and *svastigāthā* (see § 3), which cure the epidemic in that city, and from the fact that it is included under the title *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* in the Sanskrit *Pañcarakṣā* collection (see below, § 4).

From the foregoing we may conclude that ten *Mahāsūtras* were popular with the Mūlasarvāstivādins by at least the 8th century, and that these *Mahāsūtras* had *rakṣā* status.

3. The *svasti-gāthā* of various schools

The next category of *rakṣā* texts consists of sets of verses variously known as *svasti-*, *svastyayana-*, or *maṅgala-gāthā*,² or occasionally as

¹ As far as I know, there is no extant version of a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin **Ratna-sūtra*. Whether or not the *Vaiśālīpraveśa* is in fact the **Ratna-sūtra* of that tradition remains to be seen. While the *Vaiśālīpraveśa* has only one verse in common with the three extant **Ratna-sūtras*, and that a verse also found in other texts, it is difficult to believe that the Mūlasarvāstivādins would have two different accounts of the “miracle of Vaiśālī”.

² For a Jaina text related to this type of *rakṣā* see Gustav Roth, “Notes on the *Pañca-namokkāra-parama-maṅgala* in Jaina Literature”, in Heinz Bechert and Petra Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), *Indian Studies (Selected Papers) by Gustav Roth*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 129–46. I expect the tradition of some sort of *svasti-gāthā*

praṇidhāna or *satyavāk*. For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to them as *svastigāthā*. They may be described as “verses of welfare, benediction, or blessing”; in a sense they are the positive side of the *rakṣā* coin — the promotion of welfare in contrast with protection against calamity.

The term *svastyayana*(-*gāthā*) is vouchsafed by the *Mahāvastu*, where it describes one of the most popular *parittas*, the *Ratana-sutta*.¹ The same text uses the term *sovattika* for the verses of benediction spoken by the Buddha to the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika.² *Svastyayana*, “well-being”, is one of the synonyms of *rakṣā* (in the sense of “protection” rather than “protective text”) in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and in the *Megha-sūtra*, and the *Ekādaśamukha*;³ in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* it occurs in conjunction with *paritrāṇa*.⁴ In the *Jātakamālā*, *svastyayana* is used in the sense of “protective charm” or “talisman”.⁵

The only extant collections of *svasti-gāthā* are found in Tibetan translation. The earliest list, of seven titles, occurs in the *IDan dkar ma Catalogue* of the early 9th century, wherein they make up a separate class, section XVIII, under the title *bKra śis kyi rnam graṅs = *Svastiparyāya*.⁶ In the existing recensions of the Tibetan canon, verse

must exist in the Brahmanical tradition, but have not seen any references. The concluding verse of *King Mahendra's Bhagavad-Ajjuka* (ed., tr. Michael Lockwood and Vishnu Bhat, Madras, 1978, p. 114) may be described as a *svasti-gāthā*.

¹ *Mahāvastu* I 236.2, *svastyayanagāthām bhāṣati*; 236.10, *śrṇvantu svastyayanam jinena bhāṣitam*.

² *Mahāvastu* III 404.1 (= Senart 305.10). Cf. *BHSD* 606b, where this is the sole reference.

³ *MhMVR*(T) 13.2, 15.3, etc; *Megha-sūtra* 298.14; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM* I 36.2: in all three texts *svastyayana* is preceded by *sānti*, “peace”.

⁴ *Divy* 614.6, *paritrāṇam svastyayayam kuryāt*.

⁵ *Jātakamālā* VIII, *Maitribala*, vv. 7, 9, etc.; XIX, *Bisa*, v. 15.

⁶ Lalou 1953 p. 330.

texts of this type are grouped together at the end of the main divisions of the *Kanjur* and at the end of the *Tanjur*. In the Peking edition, for example, they occur at the end of the *Tantra* division (*rGyud*, Q Vol. 9) properly speaking,¹ at the end of the *Dhāraṇī Collection* (*gZuṅs 'dus*, Q Vol. 11), at the end of the *Vinaya* (*'Dul ba*, Q Vol. 45) — which in the Peking edition equals the end of the *Kanjur* — and at the end of the *Tanjur* (Q Vol. 150), preceding the *Catalogue* (*dKar chag*, Vol. 151). In all cases they perform their function as *svastigāthā*, benedictions or blessings at the conclusion of the meritorious work of compiling the *Tripitaka*. This is explained in the *Catalogue* (*dKar chag*) to the *Golden Tanjur*.²

“Now, in order to make fruitful the work that has [just been] completed [the copying of the *Tanjur*], the dedications (*bsṅo ba = pariṇamanā*), aspirations (*smon lam = praṇidhāna*), and blessings (*bkra śis = maṅgala*) [follow]...

Well-placed [here] are the forty-odd
dedications, aspirations, and verses of blessing
which when recited accomplish all aims
and promote welfare at all times.”

Out of the “forty-odd” texts, the *pariṇamanā* and *praṇidhāna* (mostly extracted from Mahāyāna works) come first, followed by the *svasti-* and *maṅgala-gāthā*, which come at the end. I can give here only a few examples of the latter:³

¹ That is, not counting the three volumes of the “Old Tantras” (*rñin rgyud dza, va, za*) or volume *za*.

² *Golden Tanjur*, Vol. 100, *dkar chag, tso*, 182b6–184a1. Similar passages are found in other editions of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*.

³ The following is based on the Peking edition of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*. For the Berlin manuscript *Kanjur*, see Hermann Beckh, *Verzeichnis der Tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Erste Abteilung: Kanjur*

1. A complete extract of the verses of one of the *Mahāsūtras*, the *Vaiśālīpraveśa* (see above, § 2), which are described as *bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa = svastigāthā*.¹
2. Verses extracted from the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, a *Pañcarakṣā* text (see below, § 4), equivalent to the *Ratana-sutta* of the Theravādin *Suttanipāta* and the parallel *svastyayana-gāthā* in the Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṃghika *Mahāvastu*, but differing in number of verses, order, and details.² The title describes them as *smon lam = prañidhāna*.
3. A set of two groups of verses extracted from another *Pañcarakṣā* text, the *Mahāmāyūri*.³ The first group deals with the Seven Buddhas and their *bodhi*-trees; the second consists of two verses common to the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra* and to the *Vaiśālīpraveśa*, plus a third

(*Bkah-hgyur*), Berlin, 1914, p. 5 ('*dul ba*), pp. 132–33 (*rgyud*), p. 147 (*gzuñs 'dus*); for the Derge *Kanjur* see Hakuju Ui *et al.*, *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Canons*, Sendai, 1934, pp. 135–37 (*rgyud*), 178–80 (*gzuñs 'dus*); for the Lithang *Kanjur*, see Jampa Samten Shastri and Jeremy Russell, "Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan bKa'-'gyur", in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XII, no. 3, autumn, 1987, Appendix III ('*dul ba*). Because different texts bear similar or identical titles, because the same text sometimes bears different titles in the different divisions of one edition, and because the titles are sometimes given in the colophon rather than at the head of the text, I am unable to give a complete concordance in this paper. Note that the "Them spangs ma" *Kanjurs* have only a few such texts at the end of the *Sūtra* (*mdo sde*) and *Tantra* (*rgyud*) divisions: see for example the Stog Palace *Kanjur*, Skorupski nos. 321–32 and 759–63.

¹ Q 439, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 1045, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5950, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

² *Stoñ chen mo rab tu 'joms pa las gsuñs pa'i smon lam*, Q 436, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 719, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1043, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5951, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

³ *Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo las gsuñs pa'i smon lam dan bden tshig*: Q 437, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 720, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1044, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5953, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

- satyavāk* verse.¹ The title describes the verses as *prañidhāna* (*smon lam* = first set) and *satyavāk* (*bden tshig* = second set).
4. The *Devapariṣṭhā-maṅgalagāthā*,² parallel to the Pali *Maṅgalasutta*, another of the most popular *parittas*; since it differs in number and order of verses, it is the recension of another, as yet undetermined, school.
5. The *Āśīrvāda-gāthā*,³ according to the colophon an extract from the *Trapuṣabhallikaparivarta* of the *Lalitavistara*.⁴ Similar verses, described as *sovattika*, are found in the *Mahāvastu*.⁵ In both cases they are spoken by the Buddha to the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika. The verses occur in the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas in Chinese translation, but in a different context.⁶ A fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript from Central Asia in the Pelliot collection also contains the verses, again addressed to the two merchants,⁷ and a parallel is found in Uighur.⁸ The stanzas invoke the blessings and protection of 28 *nakṣatras*, 32 *devakumāris*,

¹ *MhMVR*(T) 13.17–14.3 and 14.15–15.1, respectively.

² *Lhas žus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 442, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 721, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1053, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5943, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*. Studied in French translation by Feer, compared with the Tibetan translation of a Theravādin version, in *AMG V* pp. 224–27.

³ *Śis par brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 728, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1048, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5949, *no mtshar bstan bcos, mo*, 336b2–39a4, end of *Tanjur*.

⁴ Colophon, *mo*, 339a3; the translated verses indeed agree with those of the Tibetan *Lalitavistara*, Q 763, *mdo, ku*, 209a7–11a4, translated circa 800 A.C. by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarma, and Ye śes sde (for Sanskrit cf. *Lalitavistara* 282.3–85.8 = vv. 109–52).

⁵ *Mahāvastu* III 404.7–10.14 (vv. 7–51).

⁶ Bareau 1959 pp. 303–4. Bareau refers to T 1425, 500c–01b.

⁷ Pauly 1959 pp. 203–22.

⁸ Lore Sander, "Buddhist Literature in Central Asia", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fasc. 1, 1979, p. 61.

the Four Great Kings and their assemblies, and four *caityas*, in the sequence of the four quarters, and hence set up a protective circle.¹

Other texts bear similar titles:

6. *Svasti-gāthā*²
7. *Svastayana-gāthā*³
8. *Pañcatathāgatamaṅgala-gāthā*⁴
9. *Ratnatrayamaṅgala-gāthā*⁵
10. *Maṅgala-gāthā*⁶
11. *Ratnatrayasvastigāthā*⁷
12. *Rig gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*⁸
13. *Saṅs rgyas rabs bdun gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*.⁹

Only two *svastigāthās* may be assigned a school with any certainty: the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-svastigāthā*, which occurs in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the

¹ For a summary of the verses in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, and *Vinaya* see Bareau 1959 pp. 304–9.

² *Bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 440, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 772, Vol. 11, end of *gzun* 'dus.

³ *Bde legs su 'gyur ba'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 441, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 773, Vol. 11, end of *gzun* 'dus.

⁴ *De bzin gśegs pa lña'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 445, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 726, Vol. 11, end of *gzun* 'dus; translated by Feer, *AMG V* p. 470.

⁵ *Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 447, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 729, Vol. 11, end of *gzun* 'dus; Q 5958, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

⁶ Q 449, etc.: see references in note 3 on p. 137.

⁷ *Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 450, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 5955, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

⁸ Q 446, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 727, Vol. 11, end of *gzun* 'dus; Q 5961, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*, translated by Feer, *AMG V* pp. 474–75. The title means "Verses of Blessing of the Three Families" (**Trikula / Kulatraya-maṅgalagāthā*).

⁹ Q 444, etc.: see references in note 4 on p. 137. The title means "Verses of Blessing (*maṅgalagāthā*) on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas".

Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the *Āśīrvāda-gāthā*, which is *Mahāsāṃghika* in two (most probably three) of its versions.¹

It is likely that at least some of the *svastigāthā* in the Tibetan *Tripitaka* belonged to the liturgy of the monks of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* or other *nikāyas* in India. That is, they would have been recited in appropriate contexts — sickness or calamity, or *anumodanā* for *dāna* — just as their Pali counterparts are chanted by Theravādin monks up to the present day.² In the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*, the *Āśīrvāda-gāthā* are presented as a model of the benediction to be given by monks to merchants who have made offerings.³ Examples of verse *abhyanumodanā* are found in the *Vinaya* and *Sūtra* literature of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, where the stock formula is *atha bhagavān* (name of donor, genitive) *tad dānam anayā abhyanumodanayā abhyanumodate*.⁴ Another formula is *bhagavatā...dakṣiṇā ādiṣṭā*.⁵ Some information about chanting in India in the late 7th century is supplied by I-ching; he does not, however,

¹ The *Mahāvastu*, the *Vinaya* in Chinese, and the *Lalitavistara*. On the basis of style, phraseology, and doctrine, the origins of the last named seem to me to lie more probably with the *Mahāsāṃghikas* than with the *Sarvāstivādins*. The common attribution of the text to the latter seems to rest on a sole Chinese reference to the titles of a number of biographies of the Buddha: see Samuel Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, [London, 1875] Delhi, 1985, pp. v–vi, 386–87.

² In terms of purpose — celebration of the merits of an act of giving — *anumodanā* is not strictly speaking a protection, *rakṣā*. But since the verses employed overlap the *rakṣā* literature (the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra* contains *abhyanumodanā* verses, some of which are elsewhere described as *svasti-gāthā*) and the Pali *anumodanā* are printed along with *paritta* and assorted *rakṣās* (see *Royal Chanting Book, anumodanā-vidhī*), it seems more convenient to study *abhyanumodanā* and *svastigāthā* together.

³ Bareau 1959 pp. 303–4.

⁴ See *Saṅghabhedavastu I* 124.11–20; Ernst Waldschmidt, *Das Mahā-parinirvāṇasūtra*, [Berlin, 1950–51] Kyoto, 1986, §§ 6.11–14, 12.6–9, 26.29–30.

⁵ *Saṅghabhedavastu I* 199.25–27.

mention any canonical texts by name.¹ I-ching's translator, Takakusu (p. 48), gives two Sanskrit terms: *dānagāthā* and *dakṣiṇāgāthā*.²

As far as I know, only two of the *svastigāthā* mentioned above are currently recited by members of the Tibetan *samgha* (who are by ordination Mūlasarvāstivādin): the *Maṅgalagāthā* on the twelve acts of the Buddha, attributed to Nāgārjuna,³ and the *Maṅgalagāthā* on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas.⁴ The school of these two texts is uncertain; since neither is overtly Mahāyānistic, they may be described as mainstream *svastigāthā*.

Though not described as such, the last verse of Vasubandhu's *Gāthāsaṃgraha* is a typical *svastigāthā*:⁵

¹ J. Takakusu, tr., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, [London, 1896] New Delhi, 1986, pp. 41–42, 46, 48–49, 152, 166. I-ching does say that he has translated such *gāthās*; Takakusu (p. 48 note 1) refers to the "Rules of Confession", Nanjio 1506 [= T 1903, KBC 1084]. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* I 93 foll. ("Bombai").

² See also Soothill and Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, [London, 1937] Delhi, 1977, pp. 285a, 330b.

³ *Bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 449, Vol. 9, *rgyud, tsha*, 321a8; Q 724, Vol. 11, *rgyud, ya*, 278b6; Q 5954, Vol. 150, *no mtshar bstan bcos, mo*, 343a; translated by Feer, *AMG V* pp. 471–74. The attribution of the text to *Slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub* is in Q 5954. The text is not mentioned in Chr. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, Copenhagen, 1982, pp. 11–17.

⁴ *Saṅs rgyas rabs bdun gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 444, Vol. 9, *rgyud, tsha*, 319b; Q 725, Vol. 11, *rgyud, ya*, 280a3. Both this and the preceding text are translated in *The Sublime Path of the Victorious Ones*, Dharamsala, 1981, pp. 83–87.

⁵ A. Schiefner, "Über Vasubandhu's *Gāthāsaṃgraha*", *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St.-Pétersbourg, 1878, p. 566; Q 5603, Vol. 119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, nu*, 241a4–5; commentary, Q 5604, Vol. 119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, nu*, 285b1–86a4.

May the world be happy, may there be a good harvest;
may grain be ample, may government be righteous;
may all illness and harm disappear!

In his commentary Vasubandhu notes that the verse is a wish (*smon lam* = *praṇidhāna*) for the absence of fear of various kinds of harm, which he describes in some detail.

I have not come across any examples of an equivalent Pali term — *soṭṭhi-gāthā* or *sovatthi-gāthā*.¹ The numerous Pali chants — both canonical (such as the *Ratana-sutta*) and extra-canonical — that contain refrains like *etena saccavajjena suvatthi hotu* may, however, reasonably be classed as *soṭṭhi-gāthā*. The title *maṅgala-gāthā* is common in Pali.²

¹ Table 1.1 shows that the Siamese edition of the *Milinda-pañha* includes a *Suvatthi-paritta*. Taking the other lists into account, this might be the *Ratana-sutta*, which has the refrain *etena saccena suvatthi hotu*. Cf. also PTSD 725b, *soṭṭhikamma*, *soṭṭhikāra*, *soṭṭhivācaka*. In the *Suppāraka-jātaka* (*Jātaka* 463, Vol. IV 142) the *bodhisatta* performs an act of truth (for which see below, § 5) by reciting a verse over a bowl of water, after reflecting, "Apart from myself there is no one whatsoever able to save (*soṭṭhibhāvaṃ kātum*) these people: by means of an act of truth I will bring them to safety (*saccakiriyāya tesam soṭṭhim karissāmi*).

² See the texts listed in § 1, pp. 122–23, and also Dhammānanda 1992 p. 440, *Sabbajayamaṅgala-gāthā*.

4. The *Pañcarakṣā* collections¹

The *Pañcarakṣā* or *Five Protections* were extremely popular in Northern India, Nepal, and Tibet, as may be seen from the numerous manuscripts kept in libraries around the world. Their study is complicated by the fact, belied by a general similarity of titles, that there exist (at least) two different collections, a Tibetan and a Sanskrit, which have only three texts in common: the study therefore involves seven rather than five texts.² Since the Tibetan versions were translated in about 800 A.C., and since the *IDan dkar ma Catalogue* treats them as a separate category under the title *gZuñs chen po lña = Pañca-*

¹ For the present study I have used Takubo's edition of the *Mahāmāyūrī* in Sanskrit (*MhMVR(T)*). For the remaining Sanskrit versions, I originally had access only to the summaries in Rajendralala Mitra's *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, [1882] Indian reprint, 1981, pp. 164–69 and in M. Winternitz and A. Keith, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1905, pp. 257–59; I also made desultory attempts at the two late Nepalese manuscripts reproduced by Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-rakṣā*, New Delhi, 1981 (*Sāta-Piṭaka Series Vol. 267*). Only when the paper was in its final draft did I receive (courtesy Dr. Paul Harrison) copies of Iwamoto's romanised editions of the Sanskrit versions of the *Mahāpratisarā*, *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, and *Mahāśītavatī*. For the Tibetan translations I have used the Derge (D) edition of the *Kanjur*. The present section summarises my "Note on the *Pañcarakṣā*", delivered at the 10th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Paris, July, 1991; the revised version of that paper, which I am preparing for publication, will give fuller bibliographical details.

² On the whole the *Pañcarakṣā* seem to have been rather neglected in the West since Lévi's work on the *Mahāmāyūrī* (Lévi 1915). The best modern discussion (with a comprehensive bibliography) is Pentti Aalto's "Prolegomena to an Edition of the *Pañcarakṣā*" (*Studia Orientalia* XIX:12, Helsinki, 1954, pp. 5–48); see also the introduction to the same scholar's edition of the Mongolian versions, *Qutut-tu Pañcarakṣā Kemekü Tabun Sakiyan Neretü Yeke Kölgen Sudur*, Wiesbaden, 1961, pp. 1–5. It seems to have been Aalto who first recognised that the Sanskrit and Tibetan collections are discrepant, at least for the *Mahāmantrānudharāṇi*: see the latter work, p. 1, note 1.

mahādhāraṇī,¹ the available evidence for the Tibetan collection is earlier than that for the North Indian-cum-Nepalese collection, which survives only in manuscripts from the 11th century on. Fragments of only two *Pañcarakṣā* texts, the *Mahāmāyūrī* and the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, have been found in Central Asia; fragments of the *Mahāpratisarā* were found in Gilgit.² The *Pañcarakṣā* was not transmitted as a collection in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, although there are independent translations, all, except for several versions of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, quite late.³ Table 3 shows the relationship between the two collections and independent Tibetan or Chinese translations, and *paritta* and other *rakṣā* texts. In the following summary of the contents of the seven texts, I will present them in the order of the table: the first three are similar in their Tibetan and Sanskrit versions, while the last four are grouped by their (similar) titles, 4a and 5a referring to the Tibetan versions, 4b and 5b to the Sanskrit.⁴

1. *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*

The *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*,⁵ which is similar in its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, may be classed under Mahāyāna: the assembly includes

¹ Lalou 1953 § XIII, p. 327.

² Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften*, Göttingen, 1979, Anhang I, nos. 6, 15 and 17.

³ Aalto's statement ("Prolegomena", p. 7) that there are no Chinese translations of the "*Mahāśītavani* and *Mahāmantra-anudhāri*" (his spellings) needs clarification. The *Mahāśītavatī* and *Mahāmantrānusārīṇī* of the Sanskrit collection are both found in Chinese: out of the "Seven *Rakṣā*", only the Tibetan *Mahāśītavana* and *Mahāmantrānudharāṇi* have no Chinese (or surviving Sanskrit) counterparts.

⁴ The titles themselves pose difficulties. For the Sanskrit versions I have followed Iwamoto (see also the "internal list" at *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 41.7); for the Tibetan versions I have provisionally chosen what seems to me the most probable of the variant transcriptions given at the head of the Tibetan translations.

⁵ A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in *Pañcarakṣā* II, Kyoto, 1938.

a vast number of *bodhisattvas*, and there are references to *bodhicitta* and to the Mahāyāna itself. In addition to offering protection against a wide variety of ills, the *mantra* can confer enlightenment: in this it goes further than the other *Pañcarakṣā* texts, which only offer protection.

2. Mahāmāyūrī

The *Mahāmāyūrī* (also similar in Sanskrit and Tibetan) is the longest of the “seven *Rakṣās*”; it is a composite work, rather complex in stratigraphy.¹ The oldest layer and *raison d’être* is the account of the monk Svāti with its *mantra* and *jātaka*, parallel to that of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the *jātaka* parallel to the Pali *Mora-jātaka*. To this are added a verse found in the *Morajātaka* but not in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, verses on protection against snakes found in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Upasena-sūtra* and the Pali *Vinaya* and *Khandhaparitta*, and verses common to the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra*, the *Bhadrakarātri-sūtra*, and the *Vaiśālīpraveśa*. The list of *yakṣas* is close to that of the *Ātānātika-sūtra*, and some of its phraseology must have been influenced by or drawn from a common source as that of that text.

Other elements include the cult of the Seven Buddhas and their trees; lists of *nāgas* and a variety of divine, daemonic, and supernatural beings; lists of rivers, mountains, *nakṣatras*, *grahas*, and “sages of the past”. A characteristically thorough summary of the contents was made by Lévi in 1915 (pp. 19–22), so I need not go into more detail here.

¹ In addition to Takubo’s edition, there is that of S. Oldenburg, “Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī”, “Otryvki Kaṣgarskich i sanskritskich rukopisej iz sobranija N.F. Petrovskago, II, Otryvki iz Pañcarakṣā”, *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija imperatorskago russkago archeologičeskago obščestva* 11 (1897–98), pp. 218–61. See also A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1893–1912, pp. xciv–xcv, 222–40e, and *SHT* (I) 63, 375, 524, (V) 1459.

3. Mahāsāhasrapramardanī

The *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*,¹ in both its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, enshrines a complete **Ratna-sūtra*, concealed by a tangled overgrowth of *mantras* and long verses.² That this is its original kernel is clear from the narrative framework, which belongs to the “*Ratna-sūtra-Vaiśālī* miracle” tradition: the Buddha at Rājagṛha, the calamity at Vaiśālī, and the assembly of deities (pp. 1–2); the Buddha’s departure for Vaiśālī, the offering of the divine umbrellas, the decoration of the route, and the *indrakīla* (pp. 21–23); the appeasement of the calamity (p. 29).

4. Mahāśītavana / Mahāśītavatī

4.a. The Tibetan *Mahāśītavana* in some ways resembles the *Ātānātika-sūtra*. The title derives from the location, the Śītavana at Rājagṛha. The structure and purpose of the *nidāna* — though not the actual phrasing — parallel that of the *Ātānātika*: both texts feature the Four Great Kings, who express concern for monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen dwelling in remote places, where they are threatened by spirits who have no faith in the Buddha. Only a few verses are common to the two texts. Like the Pali *Ātānātiya* (but not the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese versions), the *Mahāśītavana* gives at the opening a set of verses of homage to past Buddhas; the *Mahāśītavana* list of 17 Buddhas is almost identical to those of the *Mahāvastu*, the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīka-sūtra*, and the Chinese *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*.

4.b. The Sanskrit *Mahāśītavatī* is quite different.³ The Buddha imparts a long *mantra* to Rāhula, who has been harrassed by a miscellany of

¹ A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Iwamoto in *Pañcarakṣā* I, Kyoto, 1937. Fragments were also published by Oldenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–18, 261–64 (= Iwamoto pp. 35.2–37 penult.), and in *SHT* (III) 983, 1011.

² Iwamoto 24.24–26.22; in Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-rakṣā*, the **Ratna-sūtra* occurs at *Manuscript A* 112.5 foll., *Manuscript B* 156.1 foll.

³ A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in *Kleinere Dhāraṇī Texte*, Kyoto, 1937.

malignant beings whilst dwelling in the Śitavana. The phraseology is typical of *raṅṅā* literature, but otherwise the text does not have much in common with the other six *raṅṅās*; furthermore, it is the only text of the seven that is entirely in prose. The Sanskrit title (and that of the Chinese translation¹) derives from the name of the *dhāraṇī* or *vidyā*.² A Tibetan translation, not classed under *Pañcarakṣā*, bears the title *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*, which in this version is the name of the *dhāraṇī*; otherwise the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions are quite close.

5. *Mahāmantrānudharāṇī* / *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*

5.a. As far as I have been able to determine, the *Mahāmantrānudharāṇī* of the Tibetan collection is not extant in Sanskrit or Chinese. The first two thirds of this text are taken up by a brief preamble, the *nidāna*, assorted *mantras*, and lists of *rākṣasīs*. The last third is extremely interesting: it contains material drawn from about ten sources, including verses common to the *Udānavarga* and the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin *Prātimokṣa-sūtras*, 26 lines of verse corresponding to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Candra-sūtra* (and thus parallel to the Pali *Canda-paritta*), and a series of *satyavāks* linked with a list of *agraśrāvakas* and of *agraprajñaptis*. The section may be described as a *paritta* collection or *paritta* extracts of an unknown school.

5.b. The *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* of the Sanskrit collection is completely different: it is none other than a recension of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* discussed above (§ 2). The title derives from the name of the *mantra* as given in the Sanskrit *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*³ but not in the Tibetan *Vaiśālīpraveśa*. Apart from this, and the fact that the Sanskrit omits verses 16 and 17 of the Tibetan, the two versions are very close.

¹ T 1392, KBC 1104.

² Iwamoto, pp. 2.8, 4.14, 5.15.

³ *Imāni mahāmantrānusāriṇīmantrapadāni*, in Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-ṅṅā*, A 236.4, 241.3, B 363.1, 370.1.

Out of the seven *Pañcarakṣā* texts, only one, the *Mahā-pratisarāvīdyārājñī*, belongs to the Mahāyāna; the remaining six may be classed under the Śrāvakayāna *raṅṅā* literature.¹ (My assertion that these texts belong to the Śrāvakayāna is based on a literal reading of their contents. There is no doubt that they were [and are] used by practitioners of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. The difference is one of context [and this may apply to other *raṅṅā* texts]: if combined with preliminary rites involving the generation of the *bodhicitta*, they become Mahāyānist in application; if conjoined with further rites of initiation, entry into a *maṇḍala*, or the visualization of the *Pañcarakṣā* deities, they become Vajrayānist in application. Numerous *sādhana*s for the realization of these deities are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and the deities are depicted in illuminated manuscripts — North Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan — of the *Pañcarakṣā*. They are not, however,

¹ To determine whether a text belongs to the Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna, I follow five guidelines: teacher, place, audience, doctrine, and goal. A Śrāvakayāna *sūtra* is (1) taught by Śākyamuni (or by other “historical” Buddhas of past or future) or by one of his disciples, (2) at one of the North Indian sites which he frequented, (3) to an audience of disciples; (4) its doctrine agrees with that of the *Āgama/Nikāya* tradition, and (5) its highest goal is arhathood. A Mahāyāna *sūtra* is (1) taught by Śākyamuni, by a “non-historical” Buddha such as Vairocana, or by a *bodhisattva*, (2) at one of the historical sites or on another plane of existence such as a distant universe or Buddhafield, (3) to an audience that includes *bodhisattvas*; it (4) teaches voidness and non-origination as in the *Prajñāpāramitā*, and (5) recommends to all the *bodhisattva* path aiming at full enlightenment. The last item entails vows (*prañidhāna*), the aspiration to enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), the prediction (*vyākaraṇa*), and the perfections (*pāramitā*) and levels (*bhūmi*) of a *bodhisattva* (see here R.E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*, London, 1968, p. 187, and Candrakīrti as cited in Anthony K. Warder, “Original” Buddhism and Mahāyāna, Turin, 1983, p. 8). The *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* (34.12–20) does mention Akṣobhyarāja, Avalokiteśvara, and Amitābha, but since they play no role whatsoever in the *sūtra* they may be treated as one of its many elements drawn from popular lore. Since the same *sūtra* also lists all five *Pañcarakṣā* titles, it evidently continued to grow after the *Pañcarakṣā* group had come into being.

invoked or described in the *Pañcarakṣā* texts properly speaking, except insofar as their names correspond to those of the *mantras*.¹)

Of the six Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās*, the Sanskrit *Mahāśītavatī* (= Tibetan *Mahādaṇḍa-dhāraṇī*) does not contain any elements (apart from phraseology) common to the others, or to the *paritta*, *Mahāsūtras*, or *svastigāthā*: it is simply a *rakṣā mantra* with minimal narrative framework. The remaining five may be described as Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās par excellence*. All have *paritta* at their heart, and are expanded by preambles, by verses of homage, by *mantras* and praises of *mantras*, by lists of deities, by descriptions of rites, and so on: they are composite compilations that must have evolved over several centuries. All contain common elements, such as the cults of past Buddhas, the Four Kings, and deities such as *yakṣas*, etc., common verses, and common phraseology. The manner in which the *parittas* are buried in such long lists of deities and supernormal beings may be compared with the *paritta* ceremony of Sri Lanka, which contains a long admonition listing similar deities, and can go on all night or for seven days.² If a collection of Sri Lankan *parittas* were published along with all such preliminaries, admonitions, ceremonies, and rites, in both contents and length it would resemble one of the composite *Pañcarakṣā* texts, minus, of course, the *mantras*.

5. *Rakṣā* phraseology

A certain phraseology characterises the *rakṣā* literature. One frequent element is the “profession of truth” (*satya-vāk*, *satyādhiṣṭhāna*). In Mūlasarvāstivādin literature we find *etena satyavākyena svasty ānandāya*

¹ The *Mahāmāyūrī* (Takubo, 37.17) does give the names of several *Pañcarakṣā* deities (without describing them as such) within a long list of deities: *mahā-pratisarāya svāhā*, *śītavānyā svāhā*, etc.

² L. de Silva, pp. 51–52.

bhikṣave in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, *anena satyena satyavākyena* in the *Prātihārya-sūtra*, and *tena me satyavākyena* in the *Upasena-sūtra*.¹ In Theravādin literature we have the refrain of the *Ratana-sutta*, *etena saccena suvatthi hotu*,² and similar phrases in numerous extra-canonical *paritta*. In Lokottaravādin literature there is the *etena satyena susvasti bhotu* of that school’s version of the *Ratana-sutta*;³ the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* version of the same has *etena satyena ihāstu svasti*.⁴ The *Prajñāpāramitā* uses *anena satyena satyavacanena*.⁵

In the *Milindapañha*, King Milinda states that “by truth (*saccena*) truth-speakers (*saccavādino*) perform an act of truth (*saccakiriyaṃ katvā*), and cause rain to fall, put out fire, counteract poison, or perform various feats as required”.⁶ At the conclusion of his discussion of *saccakiriya*, Nāgasena says, “there is no aim at all that those established in the truth do not accomplish”.⁷ In the *Prajñāpāramitā* (loc. cit.) the success of an act of truth indicates that a bodhisattva has reached the irreversible stage. In the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* it is said that through *satyavāk* miracles (*prātihārya*) arise from relics.⁸

¹ *Divy* 613.9 and 154.25, and *Upasena-sūtra* (1) 41.2, respectively.

² *Sn* vv. 224–35; further examples and references are given by Burlingame (see note 3 on p. 146) p. 434.

³ *Mahāvastu* I 236.16 etc.

⁴ *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 25.1 etc.

⁵ *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (BST 4) 189.12–191.25; 247.10–16; Edward Conze, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, Chapters 55 to 70, Rome, 1962, pp. 5.5–8.6; cf. also *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya-gāthā* XX 23–24, XXI 1, in P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha* Part I (BST 17), Darbhanga, 1961. See also *SHT* (VI) 1259.

⁶ *Milindapañha*, Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition, 124.8. *Milindapañha* 123–26 (= PTS ed. I 119–23) has a long discussion of *saccakiriya*.

⁷ *Milindapañha*, Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition, 126.19, *sacce ṭhitā na kiñci atthaṃ na vindanti*.

⁸ *The Fortunate Aeon*, Vol. I, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1986, p. 474.15, *bden pa’i tshig gis rin bsrel las cho ’phrul ’byun ba*.

The “profession of truth” goes beyond the *rakṣā* literature (though the boundary is not always clear) into the *jātakas*,¹ Buddhist drama,² and Indian literature in general: the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as well as vernacular folktales and Jaina literature.³ While in such cases the *satyavāk* is a narrative device — a specific act performed by a specific person with specific results — as a *rakṣā* properly speaking it is anonymous and generalised.

The *satyavāk* is sometimes combined with versions of the *agra-prajñāpti* formula: examples occur in the *Prātihārya-sūtra*,⁴ the *Mahāmantrānudharāṇi-sūtra*,⁵ and the (*Ārya*) *Sarvarogaprasāmani-dhāraṇi*.⁶ Similarly, a non-canonical Pali text entitled *Parittakarāṇa-pāṭha*

¹ See *Jātakamālā* II, XIV, XV, XVI, and Sitaram Roy (ed.), *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, Patna, 1971, §§ 159, 163–65, 201–02.

² Candragomin’s *Lokānandanātaka*, tr. Michael Hahn, *Joy for the World*, Berkeley, 1987, V 40 p. 130.

³ Cf. E. W. Burlingame, “The Act of Truth (*Saccakiriya*): A Hindu Spell and its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction”, in *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 429–67; W. Norman Brown, “The Basis for the Hindu Act of Truth”, in *The Review of Religion*, Vol. V, no. 1, Nov. 1940, pp. 36–45; (same author) “The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (**Satyakriyā*)”, in *Mélanges d’Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris, 1968, pp. 171–77; (same author) “Duty as Truth in Ancient India”, in Rosane Rocher (ed.), *India and Indology: Selected Articles by W. Norman Brown*, Delhi, 1978, pp. 102–19; Heinrich Lüders, “Die magische Kraft der Wahrheit im alten Indien”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 98 (Neue Folge Band 23), Leipzig, 1944, pp. 1–14; Alex Wayman, “The Hindu-Buddhist Rite of Truth — an Interpretation”, in Bhadriraju Krishnamurti (ed.), *Studies in Indian Linguistics (Professor M. B. Emeneau Śaṣṭipūrti Volume)*, Annamalainagar, 1968, pp. 365–69 (rep. in George R. Elder (ed.), *Buddhist Insight*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 391–97); Peter Khoroché, *Once the Buddha was a Monkey: Ārya Śūra’s Jātakamālā*, Chicago, 1989, p. 258 (note 6). (I am grateful to Prof. Oskar von Hinüber for promptly sending me copies of several of these articles.)

⁴ *Divy* 154.19 foll.

⁵ D 563, *rgyud ’bum*, pha, 155a4 foll.

⁶ Q 207, Vol. 7, *rgyud*, pha, 276a2 (tr. by Feer, *AMG* V, 462).

combines the prose of the *Aggappasāda-sutta* (*AN* II 34–35) with the verses of the *Ratana-sutta*.¹ *Satyavāk* phrases are also incorporated into *mantras*, which sometimes invoke the power of “truth-speakers” (*satya-vādinām*).²

Other elements occur in connection with supernormal or daemonic beings. Lists of such beings are often given first in male and then in female form:

*yakkho vā yakkhiṇī vā yakkha-potako vā °potikā vā °mahāmatto vā °pārisajjo vā °pacāro vā;*³

*gandharvo vā gandharvī vā gandharvamahallako vā °mahallikā vā °potalako vā °potalikā vā °pāriṣado vā °pāriṣadī vā °pracaro vā °pracarī vā ;*⁴

*devo vā devā vā devaputro vā °duhitā vā °mahallako vā °mahallikā vā °pārṣado vā °pārṣadī vā ;*⁵

Similar lists occur in the *Lankāvatāra*-⁶ and *Mahābala-sūtras*.⁷

A stock phrase (or variants thereof) is used for the action of a malignant spirit who seeks an opportunity or chance to do harm: *avatārapreṣy*

¹ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 101–03; *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 12.5.3.

² *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇi*; *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM* I 67.5.6; 76.8.

³ *Āṭṇāṭṭiya* Pali, *DN* III 203.7: and so for *gandhabba*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, *nāga*.

⁴ *Āṭṇāṭṭika* Sanskrit, p. 59.7: and so for *piśāca*, p. 61, *kumbhāṇḍa*, p. 65, and so on.

⁵ *MhMVR*(T) 10.20 foll., in what is probably the longest such list, since it gives 20 different beings.

⁶ *Saddharmalankāvatārasūtram* 106.11 foll.

⁷ *Mahābala-sūtra* 27.1 foll.

avatāragaveṣī, and fails or will fail to do so, *avatāraṃ na lapsyate*.¹ There is a recurrent curse “may so-and-so’s head split into seven pieces”: *saptadhāsyā sphalen mūrdhā*.²

Common also is the “escape clause” which, after lauding the multiple and powerful effects of a *mantra* or other *rakṣā*, notes that it might not succeed “due to the fruition of past *karma*” (*varjayitvā paurāṇaṃ karmavipākam*, or variants thereof), found, for example, in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*,³ the *Lalitavistara*,⁴ the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*,⁵ the *Mahāmantrānudharaṇi*,⁶ the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*,⁷ the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,⁸ and the *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-ekādaśamukha-nāma-dhāraṇi*.⁹ Bhavya

¹ *Ātānāṭika* 59.13 etc.; *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* 233.31; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* 28.13; *PraS* (I) 118.3.

² *Ātānāṭika* 57.24; *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* 235.10; *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 141.9; *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 37.7; *SHT* (III) 900, 903, 906, 984; *SHT* (VI) 1269, 1310. In Pali the phrase occurs in the *Canda-* and *Suriya-parittas* (*SN* I 50.33, 51.22), and at *DN* I 94.24, *MNI* 231.29, *Jātaka* V 92.8, *Sn* 983, 1026; see also *DN* I 143.13, III 13.28. Cf. A. Syrkin, “Notes on the Buddha’s Threats in the *Dīgha Nikāya*”, *JIAS* Vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 147–58. The curse also occurs in the *Rāmāyana*: see William L. Smith, “Explaining the Inexplicable: Uses of the Curse in Rāma Literature”, in *Kalyānamitrārāgaṇam. Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson*, Oslo, 1986, p. 264. The phrase (in the first person) was also used in oaths.

³ *Divy* 614.14.

⁴ *BST* 1, p. 318.5.

⁵ *Iwamoto* 41.4.

⁶ *D* 563, 154a4. The fifth section (*gnas skabs*) of Karmavajra’s (Las kyi Dorje’s) commentary to this *sūtra* is devoted entirely to this phrase, and contains a long citation of a *Karmavibhaṅga-sūtra*: *D* 2692, *rgyud*, *du*, 269a5–72a2.

⁷ Sanskrit in *PraS* (II) 298.4; Tibetan in *PraS* (I) 14D, p. 118.13, 24; 14J, v. 14 (p. 124.3).

⁸ *BST* 4, pp. 28.14, 19, 24; 38.21; 44.23. Cf. commentary in Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Sāratamā, A Pañjikā on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, Patna, 1979, p. 37.10–13.

⁹ *Q* 524, Vol. 11, 'a, 212b4 = *GM* I 36.4; translated by Feer, *AMG* V 434.

comments on the phrase in his *Tarkajvālā*.¹ The same idea — though not the exact phrase — is found in the *Milindapañha*: Nāgasena explains that *paritta* may not be take effect because of the obstruction (*āvaraṇa*) of *kamma*.² The extra-canonical Pali *Unhissavijaya* promises protection from death due to a variety of causes, “except for timely death” (*kālamāritam*), that is, “natural death” as determined by one’s karmic life-span.³

The escape clause is characteristic of only some (earlier ? Śrāvakayāna ?) *rakṣā* texts; others promise unqualified results. The *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* states that for one who copies the *sūtra* or causes it to be copied, the obstructions (*āvaraṇa*) of the five deeds of immediate retribution (*ānantārya karma*) and sins even as great as Mt. Meru will all be wiped clean.⁴

Other elements are long lists of diseases⁵ or calamities against which protection is offered.⁶ Another phrase refers to the marking of a (protective) boundary (*simābandha*).⁷

¹ *D* 3856, *dbu ma*, *dza*, 185b2, *ci'i phyir sñon gyi las kyi rnam par smin pa ni ma gtogs so zes bstan ce na ?...*

² *Milindapañha* (Chatṭhasaṅgīti ed.) 152–55, (PTS ed.) I 150–54.

³ *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* p. 113.

⁴ Sten Konow, *The Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*, in A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, [Oxford, 1916] Amsterdam, 1970, pp. 310–12. Cf. also *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM* I 54–55

⁵ *MhMVR*(T) 4.2, etc.; *PraS* 14D; *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta* 29, *Cakkaparitta*, § 9.

⁶ *AN* V 342.1–14 (*Metta-sutta*); *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta*, *Parittaparikkamma*, v. 9; *Megha-sūtra* 294; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* 38.7–15; *PraS* 14C, 14D; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM* I 37.5–11; *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM* I 57.8–13.

⁷ *MhMVR*(T) 3.14, etc.; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* 56.14; *Hayagrīva-vidyā*, *GM* I 45.5.

6. *Rakṣā* and *mantra*

The sometimes confused relationship between *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* has been clarified by several scholars.¹ While the two terms might at times be synonymous, the latter has a much broader meaning: a faculty or facility in retaining or remembering the teaching of the Buddha(s), hence “retention” or “memory” (Lamotte’s *souvenance*). This is shown by the context in which it occurs in the Mahāyāna *sūtras* and the definitions given in the *śāstras*, which connect it with *smṛti*. The *Mahāprajñā-pāramitāśāstra* classifies *dhāraṇī* in *abhidharmic* terms under *dharmadhātu*, *dharmāyatana*, and *samskāra-skandha*: it is either “associated with mind” or “dissociated from mind” (*cittasamprayukta*, *cittaviprayukta*), impure or pure (*sāsrava*, *anāsrava*); it is formless or immaterial (*ārūpya*), invisible (*anidarśana*), non-resistant (*apratigha*), and knowable by mental-consciousness (*manovijñāna*).² Asaṅga gives a fourfold definition of the term; of these it is the third, *mantra-dhāraṇī*, with which I am concerned: “*mantra*-syllables for the appeasement of the calamities of beings (*mantrapadāni itisaṃsamanāya sattvānām*).”³

¹ Especially valuable are Lamotte’s translation and notes at *Mpps* I 317–21 and 328, his long note at *Mpps* IV 1854–64 and the following translation (1864–69), and Braarvig 1985. Cf. also Edward Conze, *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom with the divisions of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Berkeley, 1975, p. 21; de Jong 1984 pp. 95–96, and Matsunaga 1977 pp. 169–71. For *mantra*, see Alex Wayman, “The Significance of Mantras, from the Veda down to Buddhist Tantric Practice”, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIX, 1975, pp. 65–89 (reprinted in *Buddhist Insight*, pp. 413–30); for *dhāraṇī*, see *BHSD* 284b, and *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fasc. 4, pp. 515–20.

² *Mpps* I 317. Cf. also the definition in Corrado Pensa, *L’Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti di Ārya-vimuktisena*, Rome, 1967, pp. 101–02.

³ Cf. *Mpps* IV 1857–59 and Braarvig 1985 pp. 19–20. The latter’s suggestion that *dhāraṇī* in the compound *mantra-dhāraṇī* does not itself mean a spell, but rather a facility in retaining or remembering spells, and his translation “retaining a formula in the mind” are quite apt.

As far as I have been able to determine, *mantra* (or *mantrapada*), along with *rakṣā* and *vidyā*, is the preferred term in *rakṣā* literature, at least in the main texts studied here, none of which employ the word *dhāraṇī* (except in titles).¹ Scholars often use the two words interchangeably; it would be more accurate, however, to use the word actually employed in the text under consideration.² Since *mantra* is the general term of preference in the *rakṣā* literature dealt with here, I will use that term.

For present purposes, I would like to classify *mantras* into two types: protective *mantras* (the *mantra-dhāraṇī* of Asaṅga) and — for want of a better term — spiritual *mantras*. Protective or *rakṣā* *mantras* are recited for worldly or mundane ends: to ward off calamity, disease, or malignant beings, and to promote welfare. The *mantras* of the Śrāvakayāna and of the early Mahāyāna *sūtras* belong to this category. At an uncertain date, but, on the evidence of the Wu dynasty translation of the *Anantamukha-nirhāradhāraṇī*,³ not later than the second century A.C., *mantras* were given a spiritual application: their recitation not only granted protection and welfare, but could lead to enlightenment (*bodhi*) itself. They became associated with symbolic hand-gestures (*mudrā*), complex rites (*vidhi*, *kalpa*), consecrations (*abhiṣeka*), *maṇḍalas*, and visualization. These are the *mantras* of some Mahāyāna *sūtras* and of the Vajrayāna. In the

¹ The term *dhāraṇīmantrapada* occurs in the *Megha-sūtra*, p. 298.11. *Vijjā* in the sense of spell or charm occurs in the Pali Canon, where several spells are mentioned by name: see *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. IV, fasc. 1, “Charms”, pp. 130–34. For this and other terms, see David L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors*, London, 1987, pp. 122, 141–44.

² Waldschmidt, for example, describes the *mantras* of the Tibetan *Mahāsamāja* as *Dhāraṇīs*, although the text describes them as *mantrapada* (*gsaṅ snaṅs kyi tshig*): E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon (Kleinere Sanskrit-texte, Heft IV)*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 197.

³ See below, p. 164.

present paper, I am only concerned with the first type, protective or *rakṣā mantras*.

Mantras are most commonly introduced by *tadyathā*, but also by *syādyathedaṃ*.¹ Of the *Pañcarakṣā* texts, the *Mahāsāhasrapramardani*² and the *Mahāśītavana* use *syādyathedaṃ*;³ the *Mahāmantrānudharaṇi* uses *syādyathedan* once, but otherwise *tadyathā*; the other texts use *tadyathā*. The *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha* uses *saṃyathīd[am]* (*GM* I 71.9; some Central Asian Sanskrit fragments have *saryathīdam*;⁴ the Tibetan translation of the *Hastiratnadharmaṃyeti* (?) has *satya thedan* (?).⁵ Khotanese versions of the *Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇi* introduce the *dhāraṇi-mantra* with *syādathīdam*, *syādathedaṃ*, and *syād yathyīdam*.⁶ (Edgerton notes the forms *sayyathīdam* and *sadyathīdam* for the *Mahāvastu* only;⁷ the related *sayyathāpi* (and *saṃyathāpi*) *nāma* occurs in the Lokottaravādin *Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya*.⁸ In the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the form *saṃyathedaṃ* occurs.⁹ In none of these cases are the phrases connected with *mantras*.) The Pali *Mahādibbamanta* and *Sut Catuvik* introduce their *mantras* with *seyyathīdam*.¹⁰

¹ Pauly 1959 pp. 216, 225.

² Iwamoto, 4.21, 5.8, etc.

³ D 562, 140b1, etc.; in Tibetan usually transliterated as *syādyathedan*. See also Dharmasāgara-nāma-dhāraṇi, Q 310, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 84a3 and passim = D 654, *rgyud, ba*, 146b7.

⁴ So transcribed at *SHT* (III) 842, R3; 900, V1.

⁵ Christopher Wilkinson, "The Tantric Gaṇeśa Texts Preserved in the Tibetan Canon", in Robert L. Brown (ed.), *Gaṇeś: Studies of an Asian God*, State University of New York, 1991, p. 271. I have not been able to consult the original.

⁶ Inagaki 1987 p. 314.

⁷ *BHSD* 582b.

⁸ Gustav Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya: Manual of Discipline for Buddhist Nuns* (TSWS Vol. XII), Patna, 1970, index, p. 399.

⁹ *MhMVR*(T) 44.19.

¹⁰ Jaini 1965 p. 67.38; Finot 1917 p. 59.

Mantras conclude with *svāhā* in Sanskrit or *svāhāya* (or *svāhāyya*) in Pali.¹ In Tibetan translations text between *tadyathā* and *svāhā* is usually transliterated rather than translated.

Mantras include both unintelligible and intelligible elements. The former include phrases like *hulu hulu*,² *hili hili*,³ *mili mili*,⁴ or *hili mili*⁵ — *hile mile*⁶ — *ili mili*⁷ — *īṭi miṭi*,⁸ common to a number of texts. The ubiquitous *hulu hulu* is one of the earliest attested *mantras*, since it occurs in Lokakṣema's Chinese version of the *Drumakinnārarāja-paripṛcchā*, translated between 168 and 172 A.C.;⁹ it is also one of the most widespread since it occurs in South-east Asian Pali texts. Though unintelligible, the phrases are not arbitrary (nor the "gibberish" nor the "mumbo jumbo" of earlier scholars), and they are explained in the commentaries. (According to Asaṅga, *mantras* are indeed "without meaning", but in the sense that all *dharmas* are without meaning.¹⁰) The

¹ Jaini 1965 p. 67.39.

² *Ātānāṭika* 74.22 (Tib.); *MhMVR*(T) 4.15, 17; 30 ult.; 31.12; *Mahābalasūtra* 24.7; *Saptavetāḍaka-dhāraṇi* (Feer, *AMG* V) 456; *rGyal ba'i bla ma'i gzuṅs*, Q 488, Vol. 11, *rgyud, ba*, 85a8. For Pali occurrences, see below. See *phuluphulu* in *BHSD* 397a for the term in a non-mantric context, which possibly gives a clue to its meaning.

³ *Ātānāṭika* 74.22 (Tib.); *MhMVR*(T) 4.18; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* 56.16; 58.1.2,4; *SHT* (III) 90 V2; *rGyal ba'i bla ma'i gzuṅs* 85a8.

⁴ *MhMVR*(T) 4.18, 9.10; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, loc. cit.

⁵ *Vidyādharaṭṭaka* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya* 142.15).

⁶ *Ātānāṭika* 74.7 (Tib.).

⁷ *Ātānāṭika* 54.22; *MhMVR*(T) 9.13; *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-mātā-nāma-dhāraṇi*, Q 534, *rgyud, 'a*, 239a2; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM* I 39.12, 40.16.

⁸ *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, cit. at *Mpps* IV 1858.1.

⁹ T 624, *KBC* 129; I am grateful to Paul Harrison (letter of 22 January, 1992) for this information. The "hulu" *mantra* also occurs in the later Tibetan translation, Q 824, *mdo, pu*, 327b5 (section [15G] in Harrison's forthcoming edition). For Lokakṣema, see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 35–36.

¹⁰ *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in *Mpps* IV 1858–59; Braarvig 1985 p. 20.

(fragmentary) Uighur version of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra* gives a Uighur “translation” of the *mantras*, accompanied by interlinear Sanskrit glosses.¹ The interpretations are in terms of Sarvāstivādin *abhidharma* categories — the sixteen aspects (*ākāra*) of the Four Truths, the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*), etc. — but this must be the work of later scholiasts. In his *Tarkajvālā*, Bhavya offers a spirited defence of the “*dhāraṇīs*, *mantras*, and *vidyās*” of the Mahāyāna. He denies that they are meaningless, noting that “*vidyās* for the most part teach the six perfections (*pāramitā*), the truths of the noble (*ārya-satya*), and the states that conduce to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharma*)...”. “The unintelligible syllables of spells (*vidyā-pada*) are taught in the supermundane (*lokottara*) language, or in the languages of gods, *nāgas*, or *yakṣas*, etc.”² The purpose of some of the recurrent phrases may perhaps be determined from their context when a sufficient number of examples have been collected. Unfortunately, the dictionaries or indexes that I know of do not list *mantra* elements.³

Among the intelligible phrases are expressions of homage (*namas*) to Buddha(s) and other *āryas* or to the Three Gems (*triratna*), which are treated as a part of the *mantra*: in Tibetan versions, for example, they are not translated.⁴ The *dhāraṇī* of the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*⁵

¹ Dieter Maue, “Sanskrit-uigurische Fragmente des *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* und des *Āṭānāṭihṛdaya*”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, Neue Folge, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 98–122. I am grateful to Dr. Lore Sander for this reference.

² D 183a6 foll., Q 199b2 foll.

³ See Edgerton’s remarks at *BHSD* 284b. While the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden* (Göttingen) does not record *mantras*, a card index is kept (personal communication from Dr. Siglinde Dietz, 1991).

⁴ Cf. the Jaina *Pañca-namokkāra-parama-maṅgala* (Roth, p. 130), which pays homage to five kinds of saints (*arhats*, *siddhas*, *ācāryas*, *upadhyāyas*, and “all *sādhus* in the world”) and is described as “the first *maṅgala* among all the *maṅgalas*”.

⁵ Q 306, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 73b4 foll.

contains *satya-vāk* or *paritta*-like phrases: *buddhasatyena*, *dharmasatyena*, *saṃghasatyena*, *satyavādinām-satyena*; *buddhasatyē mātīkrama*, etc., as do *mantras* in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Megha-sūtras*, and the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*.¹ The (Ārya) *Pratītya-samutpādaḥṛdaya* consists simply of the *ye dharmā* verse in Tibetan and Sanskrit, followed by the statement “when this *hṛdaya* is recited once, all sins (*pāpa*) will be purified”, and so on.² Other intelligible phrases in the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*, the *Mahābala-sūtra*, the *Hayagrīva-vidyā*, and other texts are commands or admonishments: *jambhaya*, *stambhaya*, *mohaya*, *hana*, *daha*, *paca*, *matha*, *pramatha*.

It is noteworthy that certain common elements appear in the *mantras* of a wide variety of texts — of the Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna — and that some of these, usually found in association, invoke the names of female deities. Examples include *gauri*, *gandhāri*, *caṇḍālī*, and *mātangi*, which occur in the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*,³ the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*,⁴ the *Mahāmāyūri*,⁵ the *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*,⁶ the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*,⁷ the *Mahābala-sūtra*,⁸ the *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-mātā-nāma-dhāraṇī*,⁹ the *Cauravidhvansana-dhāraṇī*,¹⁰ the Central Asian *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa*,¹¹ and an unidentified Central Asian Sanskrit fragment.¹² It is

¹ *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* 58.3; *Megha-sūtra* 300.13 foll., 306.3 foll.; *GMI* 56.4–7.

² Q 222, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 301b7–02a2.

³ *Āṭānāṭika* 54.24 (Tibetan); 68.9 (Tibetan); 69.8 (Sanskrit).

⁴ Q 979 (Vol. 39), *mḍo, śu*, 172a4.

⁵ *MhMVR(T)* 18.16.

⁶ Q 308, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 77a1, 7.

⁷ *BST* 6, ch. 21, p. 234.19.

⁸ *Mahābala-sūtra* 24.36, 39.

⁹ Q 534, Vol. 11, *rgyud, 'a*, 239a2.

¹⁰ Q 214, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 278b4; cf. also Q 454, Vol. 9, [*rīiñ*] *rgyud, va*, 101a6.

¹¹ *SHT* (II) 176, Bl. 21 R5.

¹² *SHT* (II) 846, V7.

clear that for these and other recurrent phrases (*hulu hulu, ili mili*, and so on) the texts drew on a common pool of *mantra* elements.

To whom are the Buddhist *mantras* addressed? In some cases, such as that of the long *mantra* of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, they are spoken to malignant spirits, after invoking the power or grace of the Buddha, *pratyekabuddhas*, *āryas*, and various deities. In some cases, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, they seem to invoke goddesses. In other cases, but probably not in the Śrāvākayāna *rakṣās*, they are addressed to a specific deity, such as Avalokiteśvara in the *Hayagrīva-vidyā* and *Ekādaśamukha* or the goddess Dhvajāgrakeyūra in the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*. A complete answer can only be made after further research.

No inventory has yet been made of the *mantras* found in (Mūla) Sarvāstivādin texts.¹ Those that I know of are as follows:

1) the *mantra* of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-sūtra*, which is essentially the same in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, the independent Tibetan *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, and the Nepalese Sanskrit *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*. It is probably the longest Mūlasarvāstivādin *mantra*;

2) the *Mahāmāyūrī-mantra* of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, as preserved both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan translation. In an expanded form, it also occurs in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājīṇī*;²

3) the 9 *mantras* of the *Ātānāṭīya-mahāsūtra* as preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translation. The Central Asian Sanskrit recension, the

¹ Cf. *Mpps* IV 1860 for a brief notice.

² N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III part 1, [Srinagar, 1947] Delhi, 1984, p. 287.1-7; Tibetan translation in 'dul ba, ne, 46b7; *MhMYR*(T) 8.15-9.1.

Ātānāṭīka-sūtra, probably contained the same *mantras* at the same places, and at least 3 additional *mantras*;

4) the 19 *mantras* given in a prose "appendix" to the *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra* as preserved in Tibetan translation only;

5) the *ṣaḍakṣari vidyā* of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*;¹

6) the *mantras* of the Sanskrit *Upasena-sūtra* from Central Asia,² its Tibetan version as incorporated into the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavibhaṅga*,³ and its Chinese version in the *Samyuktāgama*;⁴

7) (probably) the *mantras* of the *Bhadrakarātri-sūtra* as preserved in Tibetan.⁵

This incomplete list is sufficient to show that *mantras* were fully accepted by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

I do not believe that any true *mantras* are found in the canon of the Theravādins, which seems to have been closed before the influence of the *mantra* movement could be felt. *Mantras* are found in later extra-canonical *paritta* texts: the *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipitaka* (*hulū* 3; *vitti* 3; *mitti* 2; *citti* 2; *vatti* 2), the *Mahādibbamanta* (*hulu* 3),⁶ the *Dhāraṇaparitta* (*illi milli tilli atilli*),⁷ the *Sut Catuvik* (*hulu* 2),⁸ and the *Giniparitta* (*citti*, *vitti*, etc.),⁹ ending in *svāhā(y)a*. That such *mantras* belonged not only to popular literature but were also accepted by at least

¹ *Divy* 613.26; Q 313 (Vol. 7), (*Ārya*-)*ṣaḍakṣari-vidyā* ('*phags pa yi ge drug pa'i rig snags*) is based on / extracted from the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*.

² *Upasenasūtra* (1); *Upasenasūtra* (2) pp. 239-44.

³ Q 1032, Vol. 42, 'dul ba, che, 113a7.

⁴ *Tsa a-han-ching*, *Sūtra* 252: see *Upasenasūtra* (2) pp. 239-44; *Mpps* IV 1860.

⁵ Q 599 (*gzuñs 'dus*); Q 979 (*mdo*). Cf. *SHT* (III) 816 for Sanskrit fragments of the *sūtra*.

⁶ Jaini 1965 p. 67.38.

⁷ *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 20.8.

⁸ Finot 1917 p. 59.

⁹ L. de Silva, p. 10.

some scholars is shown by the fact that the anonymous author of the (Ayutthaya-period) *Buddhapādamāṅgala* introduces the *mantra* “*hulū hulū hulū svāhāya*” into his commentary, and explains it in turn.¹ The term *dhāraṇī* is rare in Pali,² where it only occurs in extra-canonical texts such as the *Gini Paritta*.³ The term *dhāraṇa* occurs in the sense of *dhāraṇī* in the title and text of the *Dhāraṇa-paritta*.⁴ The author of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, who is well versed in the tradition of at least the Sarvāstivādins, notes that *dhāraṇīs* are not found in the system of the Śrāvakas, but allows that “lesser *dhāraṇīs*” can be obtained by universal monarchs, *ṛṣis*, and others.⁵

I have not seen any *mantras* in available Lokottaravādin literature. I have shown above, however, that the Mahāsāṃghikas are reported to have had a *Mantra-piṭaka* and the Siddhārthas, Pūrvaśailas, and Aparāśailas a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*, none of which are extant. The Dharmaguptakas are said to have had a similar *piṭaka*, of which the Sanskrit title is uncertain, and their *Vinaya* describes the joint recitation of the *Arapacana* syllabary by monks and laymen.⁶

¹ Supaphan Na Bangchang, *Vivaḍhanākāra Varrṇagatī sai Brah Suttantapīṭaka ti Daeng nai Pradeśa Thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 296–97.

² It is not listed in the *Pali Text Society Dictionary* or the *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*. Other forms derived from the same root are used in the sense of retention or memory of the teaching of the Buddha: see *Mpps* IV 1854 and Braarvig 1985 p. 21.

³ L. de Silva, p. 10.

⁴ *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 20.8, *imaṃ dhāraṇaṃ amitaṃ asaṃaṃ*. At *Vinaya* IV 305.27 the phrase *dhāraṇaṃ pariyāpuṇāti* is immediately followed by *guttatthāya parittaṃ pariyāpuṇāti*, but the meaning is obscure. I am grateful to Prof. Oskar von Hinüber for this reference.

⁵ *Mpps* I 328, IV 1876–77.

⁶ Sylvain Lévi, “Sur la Récitation Primitive des Textes Bouddhiques”, *JA*, May-June 1915, pp. 439–40; Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976, p. 549; *Mpps* IV 1866–68; *Hōbōgirin* Vol. I 34 (“Arahashana”), Vol. VI 565 foll. (“Da”); E. Conze, *The Large Sutra ...*, p. 21, note 118.

7. The *rakṣā* literature and cults

The *rakṣā* literature was strongly influenced by popular cults, both Buddhist and pre- or non-Buddhist. The former include the cults of the Seven Buddhas¹ and their trees,² of past Buddhas,³ of *pratyekabuddhas*,⁴ and of *śrāvakas*.⁵ The latter include the cults of the Four Great Kings;⁶ of *yakṣas*⁷ (including the 28 *yakṣasenāpati*, frequently mentioned), *nāgas*, and the whole inventory of divine or daemonic beings in the *Mahāmāyūri*, and of female goddesses as shown in both verse lists⁸ and in the *mantras* that invoke the goddess under various epithets.

It is noteworthy that one of the longest and most influential of the Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās*, the *Āṭṭhānāṭṭhika-sūtra*, is introduced and spoken by the Great King Vaiśravaṇa: the next day the Buddha repeats it to the monks, and recommends that they master it. This seems to be a device to “convert” a non-Buddhist text by giving it the sanction of the Buddha. In the *Jātakamālā* (XXXIII, *Mahiṣa*), a *yakṣa* gives a *rakṣā* to the bodhisattva in his birth as a buffalo.

¹ *MhMVR*(T) pp. 13, 43–45, 56–57; *Āṭṭhānāṭṭhika* Pali, *DN* III 195.27–96.10.

² *MhMVR*(T) p. 13.

³ *Mahāśītavana*, D 562, 138b7 foll.; *Āṭṭhānāṭṭhika-paritta*; *Āṭṭhānāṭṭhika-paritta*, *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 20, 38–39.

⁴ *Isigili-sutta*, *MN* 116 (note the concluding admonition *vandatha*, following the list of *paccekabuddhas*), classed as a *paritta* in some *Āṭṭhakathā* lists (Table 1.4) and the *Catubhānavāra*.

⁵ *Mahāmantrānudharaṇi*, D 563, 155a7 foll.; *Jinapañjara-gāthā*.

⁶ *Āṭṭhānāṭṭhika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *MhMVR*(T) pp. 15 foll., 46, *Mahāśītavana*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, chapter 21; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, chapter 7.

⁷ *Āṭṭhānāṭṭhika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *MhMVR*, *Mahāśītavana*.

⁸ *Āṭṭhānāṭṭhika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *Mahāmāyūri*, *Āsīrvāda-gāthā*.

8. *Rakṣā* and the Mahāyāna

The *rakṣā* movement, with all its characteristic phraseology, *mantras*, and association with cults, influenced the composition of many Mahāyāna *sūtras*. A number of examples have already been cited. Chapter 21 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Dhāraṇīparivarta*, contains *rakṣā mantras* spoken by Vaiśravaṇa and Virūdhaka, by *rākṣasīs*, and by *bodhisattvas*. Chapter 9 of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, which bears the same title as the preceding, contains *rakṣā mantras* delivered by the Buddhas of the three times.¹ The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* (which is classed under *Tantra* in some *Kanjurs*) contains several long chapters on protection. Chapter 3 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* extols protections and other benefits derived from the *Prajñāpāramitā*, which it describes as a *vidyā*, though no *mantra* is given. Chapter 14 of the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra* and Chapter 27 (the last) of the *Lalitavistara* deal with the protection granted to those who preserve the *sūtras*. Shorter *rakṣā* passages occur in the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*² and the *Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra*,³ and no doubt in many other *sūtras* of the Mahāyāna. Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* devotes several pages to *rakṣā mantras*.⁴

At an uncertain date the great and voluminous Mahāyāna *sūtras* were themselves condensed into *mantras* or *dhāraṇīs*, often of only a few lines: various *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, from the recension in 100,000

¹ This chapter is not found in the Sung dynasty translation, done in 443 A.C., but is found in the Wei version of about 70 years later: see Jikido Takasaki, "Analysis of the Laṅkāvatāra. In Search of its Original Form", in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme: Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*, Louvain-la-neuve, 1980, p. 340.

² *The Fortunate Aeon*, Vol. I, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 56–57.

³ É. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque* (*Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*), Brussels, 1975, p. 271.

⁴ *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 138.14–42.15.

ślokas down, the *Samādhirāja*, and the *Lalitavistara*.¹ The *Avataṃsaka*, six volumes in Tibetan translation, was reduced to a *dhāraṇī* less than one line in length: "by retaining this, the *Ārya Avataṃsaka* will be retained".² Hsüan-tsang used the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* as a *rakṣā* to ward off "all sorts of demon shapes and strange goblins" in the deserts of Central Asia; "whenever he was in danger, it was to this [text] alone that he trusted for his safety and deliverance".³

9. Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* literature and the Tantra

Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* texts classed under *Tantra* (*rGyud*) in the *Kanjur* include the following:

1. *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*
2. *Ātīnāṭīya-mahāsūtra*
3. *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*
4. *Ṣaḍakṣarī-vidyā*
5. *Bhadrakarātri-sūtra*
6. *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*
7. *Mahāsāhasrapramardani-sūtra*
8. *Mahāśītavana-sūtra*
9. *Mahāmantrānudharāṇi-sūtra*.
10. *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*.

Numbers 1 to 4, and most probably 5, belong to the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition. The affiliation of the *Pañcarakṣā* texts (numbers 6 to 10), all of which are highly composite, is not clear. All ten are classed under

¹ Cf. Q 271 to 284. For the *Prajñāpāramitā*, see Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1978, pp. 86–87.

² Q 279, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 310b8–11a2.

³ Samuel Beal, *The Life of Hsüan-tsang by the Shaman Hwui Li*, [London, 1911] New Delhi, 1973, pp. 21–22.

Kriyā-tantra (*Bya ba'i rgyud*), the lowest of the four classes of Tantra. In addition, many of the short *dhāraṇī* texts — often connected with Indra, Brahma, *yakṣas*, and the Four Great Kings — included in *Kriyā-tantra* show no Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna influence, and may be described as Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās*. Among those translated by Feer, these include the *Sapta-vetāḍaka-dhāraṇī*, the *Sarvarogaprasāmani-dhāraṇī*, the *Jvaraprasāmani-dhāraṇī*, and the *Akṣirogaprasāmani-sūtra*.¹

10. Archaeological evidence for the *rakṣā* literature

Apart from the famous list of *dharmapaliyāya* of the Aśokan inscription (which does not include any *rakṣās*), the only aspects of early Buddhism for which we have concrete evidence are the life of Śākyamuni Buddha along with the related *jātakas*, the cult of the Seven Buddhas and their trees, and the cults of the Four Great Kings, Indra, *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, and goddesses. These are represented in relief on those encyclopaedias in stone, the gateways and railings of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, Sāñchī, and other scattered sites. The cults of *yakṣas* and *nāgas* are also represented by the massive free-standing stone figures found in the regions of Patna, Mathurā, Bhubaneswar, and elsewhere; the cult of female deities is well-represented at numerous sites.

Since Bhārhut dates from about 100 B.C., and since the stone reliefs presuppose well-established (presumably oral) traditions as well as figurative prototypes, whether in wood or painted on cloth or other materials, we may say that the elements listed above go back to at least the second century B.C. It is noteworthy that some of them — for example the descent from Trayastriṃśā, depicted at both Bhārhut and Sāñchī — are paracanonical for at least the Theravādin tradition.

¹ AMG V 453–66.

These early monuments can only be understood in the light of such texts as one of the greatest *rakṣās*, the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*. What did monks, nuns, and lay-followers do when they visited the early *stūpas*? I do not think they wandered about aimlessly, silently staring, like the modern tourist. Rather, they would have performed deliberate circumambulations, and, when making offerings, would have recited verses of homage: to the Buddhas along with their trees, to the Four Great Kings, and other deities — if not the exact verses preserved in extant texts, then certainly their prototypes. The *stūpas* themselves imply the existence of a lore and liturgy which belongs in part to the *rakṣā* literature.

The railings with their gateways functioned as an outer protective *maṇḍala* around the *stūpa*. At Bhārhut the Four Great Kings (the three surviving pillar reliefs identified by inscriptions) stood guard at the four cardinal points; similarly, the verses on the Kings and their retinues in texts such as the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra* (in all versions), and the verses on the *nakṣatras*, *devakumārīs*, and Kings in the *Āsīrvādagāthā* follow the traditional clockwise *pradakṣiṇā*, so that their recitation would invoke a “magic circle” of protection. I have noted above that the open palms that sometimes adorn the early reliefs might signify the *abhaya-mudrā*. The concept of *svasti* or *māṅgala* is strongly represented in the various auspicious signs that adorn almost every relief: the *svastika*, the *śrīvatsa*, the conch, the sunshade, and so on. The cult of the Seven Buddhas was well established by the time of the Bhārhut and Sāñchī *stūpas*, where they are represented aniconically by their trees. Verses of homage to these, and perhaps other past Buddhas — the prototype of the verses of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the *Mahāśītavana*, and the Pali *Āṭānāṭiya* — must have been current by that time.

Literary evidence, such as a Chinese version of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvādāna* (for the Śrāvakayāna) and the *Drumakinnārarāja-paripṛcchā* (for the

Mahāyāna) shows that protective *mantras* were in vogue by the 2nd century A.C.¹ In the **Jātaka-sūtra* (*Sheng ching*) translated by Dharmarakṣa in 285 A.C., “magic spells for averting the influence of thieves, evil spirits, and demons are explained by the Buddha”.² Indeed, since the Wu dynasty Chinese translation of the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī* proves that *mantras* had already gained a spiritual application by the same period,³ it seems safe to conclude that *rakṣā mantras* were employed by the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. The available archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the heyday of the *rakṣā* movement was from the second century B.C. to the third century A.C. During this period the cults described above flourished in India (including here regions of present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan, as well as parts of Central Asia). By the third century the influence of the popular cults diminished (although they still persist in rural India), to be progressively eclipsed by the more sophisticated cults of *bodhisattvas*

¹ Divy, Appendix A, p. 657. The reference is to the **Mātangi-sūtra*, translated into Chinese in 230 A.C.: see T 1300, *KBC* 766, and M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, [1933] New York, 1972, pp. 286–87. In the early third and the fourth centuries, a number of *mantra* texts were rendered into Chinese by various translators: see Chou Yi-liang, “Tantrism in China”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 8, 1944–45, pp. 242–43, Matsunaga 1977 pp. 169–70, and *Upasena-sūtra* (2) p. 238. For the interesting figure of the “*dhāraṇī* master” Śrīmitra, who translated three “collections of spells”, moved in court circles in the early decade of the 4th century at Chienk’ang, and was the first known person to have had a *caitya* built for him at the order of the Emperor, see Zürcher, *op. cit.*, 103–04.

² Matsunaga 1977 p. 169; the reference is to T 154, *KBC* 799.

³ Inagaki 1987: the Wu version was translated between 223 and 253 A.C. (p. 24); the *mantras* of that version are shown in the comparative table of the *mantra*, pp. 310–52. For this *sūtra*, see also *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I, fasc. 4, pp. 548–50. For an early date for the origins of “Tantra”, see Matsunaga 1977, de Jong 1984, and John C. Huntington, “Note on a Chinese Text Demonstrating the Earliness of Tantra”, *JIAS* Vol. 10, no. 2, 1987, pp. 88–98. For a detailed bibliography of Japanese and other studies on *mantra* and Tantra, early and late, see Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Hirakata, 1980, Chapter VI, Esoteric Buddhism.

for the Buddhists, and of deities such as Viṣṇu and Śiva for the Hindus. Both in India and abroad, certain cults, such as those of Indra, Brahma, and the Four Great Kings, gained a literary and iconographical longevity, which has allowed them to survive up to the present day in the Buddhist world.

11. Rite and ritual

I stated at the outset that a hallmark of the *rakṣā* literature in general is that the texts were actually employed in the day-to-day life of both monks and lay followers. For the *paritta*, there is no need to give any evidence: wherever Theravādin Buddhism is established, the recitation of *paritta* is a regular practice. A detailed description of the *paritta* rites of Sri Lanka has been provided by Lily de Silva in the study frequently referred to.

Several of the early *rakṣā* texts contain internal information about their purpose and use. In the *Dhvajāgra-sūtra* the Buddha recommends the recollection of the Buddha, or the Dharma and the Saṃgha, to monks beset by fear when in the jungle or in lonely places. In the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, Vaiśravaṇa delivers the protection to be learned by “the disciples of the Lord — monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen — who dwell in lonely places” for their own security and protection against malignant non-humans; the next day the Buddha repeats the protection to the monks, and recommends that they learn it. In each case it is not the whole *sūtra* in its current form that was to be recited, but only certain parts; at a later date, however, the whole text would have undoubtedly been recited, as is the case with the corresponding Pali *parittas*.

I have not been able to uncover much information about how the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* were used. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* passage mentions their recitation as a protection against *vetāḍa*, without further

detail (although it does mention a number of alternate *rakṣās*). The commentary thereupon describes the function of the *Mahāsūtras*, but says nothing about how, on what occasions, or by whom, they were to be used. The only information about their ritual use is found in the “appendix” to the Tibetan version of the *Mahāsamāja*, which is not found in the Pali, Sanskrit, or Chinese versions. There the Four Great Kings recommend the recitation of the *sūtra*, along with their own *mantras*, over a thread (*sūtra*) or over (a vessel containing) water, and then tying knots in the string or sprinkling the water. The most detailed rites are given by the Buddha himself, who delivers further *mantras*. Here there are references to fasting; to specific days of the lunar cycle; to the recitation of the *mantra* 100 or 108 times while holding and knotting a thread; and to the marking of a boundary (*sīmā*).

The *Samantapāsādikā* (5th century) refers to the use of thread and water in *paritta* ritual (*parittodaka*, *parittasutta*),¹ as does the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, which de Silva dates to the 4th or 5th century.² The commentary on the *Ratana-sutta* (5th century) states that Ānanda sprinkled water from the Buddha’s alms-bowl as he went through Vesālī reciting the *sutta*.³ In the *Suppāraka-jātaka* the *bodhisatta* performs an act of truth (*saccakiriya*) holding a bowl full of water (*punnāpātī*).⁴ A detailed description of a *paritta* rite is given in the commentary to the *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta*.⁵ Interesting information about ritual practices connected with the *uposadha* ceremony in India and the “Islands of the Southern Sea” in the 7th century is supplied by I-ching. There is much

¹ Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti ed. I 577 (ref. from Dhammānanda 1992 p. 193).

² L. de Silva, p. 16.

³ L. de Silva, p. 17.

⁴ *Jātaka* 463, Vol. IV, p. 142.

⁵ L. de Silva, pp. 17–18.

in common with the *paritta* rituals described by de Silva (including the overfeeding of the monks and the offering of betel-nut).¹

Brief rites are given at the end of the Sanskrit *Mahāmāyūrī* and the Tibetan *Mahāsītavana*. A number of rites are described in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, where they are spoken by the Four Great Kings, Brahma, and Vaiśramaṇa.² The “Chapter on Sarasvatī” in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* describes several rites.³ Other texts in the *Tantra* section of the *Kanjur* refer to recitation of *mantras* over thread and the tying of knots.⁴ The spiritually charged thread and water⁵ are common not only to the *paritta* but also to Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna rituals, and no doubt belong to early pan-Indian magical or protective rites. Matsunaga has given a chronological account of texts containing ritual elements translated into Chinese, starting with the first half of the third century.⁶ There is clearly a great deal to be learned here from Chinese sources.

The texts also recommend that *rakṣās* be written down, on paper or cloth, and tied as amulets to parts of the body or to standards (the latter in battle) or deposited in *stūpas*. This aspect awaits further exploration.⁷

¹ J. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, chapter IX. For a note on “the habit of chewing betel” in the *Avadāna* literature see J.S. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, Vol. II, [1906–09] repr. Osnabrück, 1970, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

² Iwamoto 30–31, 36–37, 38, respectively.

³ BST 8, chapter 8.

⁴ Cf. Feer, *AMG* V 455–57, 464, 466. See *SHT* (III) 842, R5–6; *Divy* 614.13 (*Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*), *sūtreṇa baddhena*.

⁵ Cf. *Śikṣasamuccaya* 140.18, *abhimantritena jalena*.

⁶ Matsunaga 1977 pp. 171–74.

⁷ See *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. I, fasc. 3, pp. 493–502 (“Amulet”). For Khmer and Siamese practices, see Catherine Becchetti, *Le Mystère dans les Lettres, Étude sur les yantra bouddhiques du Cambodge et de la Thaïlande*, Bangkok, 1991.

Conclusions

Rakṣās, in one form or another, are an integral part of mainstream Buddhism. The present paper came into being as a result of my work on a critical edition of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* as preserved in Tibetan translation. In the course of my research, I discovered that the *Mahāsūtras* were themselves employed as *rakṣās*, and uncovered the numerous cross-references that led me to conclude that the *rakṣā* phenomenon was extremely influential in early Buddhism. The *paritta* of the Theravādins, the *Mahāsūtras*, *rakṣās*, and *mantras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the *svastigāthā*, *rakṣās*, and *mantras* of these and other schools of both the Śrāvaka- and Mahā-yānas were not independent or isolated developments. The chanting of certain auspicious verses or texts for protection against disease and malignant spirits and for the promotion of welfare was no doubt a “pan-*nikāya*” practice, common to all branches of the *saṃgha* from an early date; indeed, on the internal evidence of texts like the *Dhvajāgra* and *Āṅānāṭika Sūtras*, the practice should predate the early schisms. The two *sūtras* just referred to are both *parittas* and *Mahāsūtras*; the *Ratana-sutta* is a *paritta*, a *svastigāthā*, and the key element of a *Pañcarakṣā* text. In some schools or communities the practice of *rakṣā* developed further with the use of *mantras* or *vidyās*, by the beginning of the Common Era at the very latest.

The *Āṅānāṭika-sūtra* seems to have been the prototype of much of the phraseology, and some of the verses, of the Buddhist *rakṣā* literature (when one considers that the *sūtra* would have been memorised by members of the *saṃgha* from an early date, this is not surprising); but this very phraseology and some of the verses were clearly adopted and adapted from contemporary popular magical and cult traditions. The prototype for at least some of the *svastigāthās* may well have been the *Ratana-sutta*. The Buddhist *mantras* derived some of their efficacy from

intelligible elements such as expressions of homage (*namas*) invoking the power of the Buddha(s), other *āryas* and deities, and the Triple Gem (*triratna*), and from the “profession of truth” (*satyavāk*). These were combined with unintelligible phrases; the origin and precise significance of these remain obscure, but it is clear that the texts drew on a common stock of elements, perhaps again from popular magical lore. In all cases the oral tradition, seamless in comparison with the written text, would have played a significant role in the permeation of Buddhist literature with such *rakṣā* and *mantra* phrases.

By definition the *rakṣā* literature is devoted to worldly ends: protection against physical or material threats, and promotion of physical and material well-being. Many of the texts, however, presuppose a certain level of spiritual development for the recitation to be efficacious, in particular the practice of loving-kindness: *maitrī* or *mettā*. And for all Buddhists, of whatever *nikāya* or *yāna*, the ultimate *rakṣā* was always *nirvāṇa*, described in the early texts as a refuge (*tāna*, *leṇa*, and so on).

The *rakṣā* literature is a vast topic: in its broader sense, it involves the study of the entire corpus of Buddhist literature in all of its languages. In this paper I have only been able to give an outline, a rough sketch of the *rakṣā* elephant as glimpsed here and there in the profuse jungle of Buddhist literature. Many questions remain to be considered. Who or what offers protection, and through what mechanism? How can past Buddhas offer protection? To what degree does the protection depend on the supplicant, to what degree on the reciter, to what degree on the beings invoked? I hope other scholars will contribute to this somewhat neglected field of research.

Bibliographical Note

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References to Pali texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society (PTS), with standard abbreviations, unless otherwise noted. References to Tibetan texts are by catalogue numbers of the Peking (Q) (in most cases) and Derge (D) (for the *Pañcarakṣā*) editions; Peking volume numbers refer to the volumes of the reprint edition and not to the original *potis*. Chinese texts are cited by Taishō (T) and Korean Buddhist Canon (KBC) catalogue numbers; information about dates of translation is derived from the latter.

Abbreviations

AMG V	Léon Feer, <i>Fragments extraits du Kandjour, Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , Vol. V, Paris, 1883
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , Vol. II, <i>Dictionary</i> , [New Haven, 1953] Delhi, 1972
BST	Buddhist Sanskrit Text series, Darbhanga
D	Derge (sDe dge) edition of the Tibetan Canon
Divy	E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, <i>The Divyāvadāna</i> , rep. Delhi, 1987
GMI	Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), <i>Gilgit Manuscripts</i> , Vol. I, [Srinagar, 1939] Delhi, 1984.
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JLABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KBC	L.R. Lancaster, <i>The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue</i> , Berkeley, 1979 (reference by catalogue number)
Q	Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan Canon
PraS (I)	Paul Harrison (ed.), <i>The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Sammukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra</i> , Tokyo, 1978

PraS (II)	Paul Harrison (tr.), <i>The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present</i> , Tokyo, 1990
MhMVR(T)	Shūyo Takubo (ed.), <i>Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī</i> , Tokyo, 1972
Mpps	Étienne Lamotte, <i>Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna</i> , Louvain, 1949–80
SHT	Ernst Waldschmidt et al. (eds.), <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden</i> , Wiesbaden, 1965–
T	Taishō edition of the Chinese <i>Tripitaka</i> (reference by catalogue number)

Sanskrit and Pali titles

<i>Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī</i> , see Inagaki
<i>Aṣṭasahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā</i> , ed. P.L. Vaidya, BST 4, Darbhanga, 1960
<i>Ātānāṭika-sūtra</i> , ed. Helmut Hoffmann, <i>Bruchstücke des Ātānāṭikasūtra aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft V)</i> , [Leipzig, 1939] Stuttgart, 1987
<i>Upasena-sūtra</i> (1), E. Waldschmidt, <i>Das Upasenasūtra</i> , Göttingen, 1957
<i>Upasena-sūtra</i> (2), E. Waldschmidt, "The Upasena-sūtra, A Charm against Snake-Bites from the Samyuktāgama", repr. in Heinz Bechert and Petra Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), <i>Ernst Waldschmidt: Ausgewählte kleine Schriften</i> , Stuttgart, 1989, pp. 180–99 (234–52)
<i>Divyāvadāna</i> , see Divy
<i>Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra</i> , see PraS
<i>Mahādibbamanta</i> , see Jaini
<i>Mahāpratisarā</i> , ed. Yutaka Iwamoto, <i>Pañcarakṣā II (Beiträge zur Indologie, Heft 3)</i> , Kyoto, 1938
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Table 1: Early paritta lists¹

1. Milinda-pañha

PTS 150.27	ChS 152.20	Mm 206.14
1. Ratana-s	1. Ratana-s	1. Khandha-p
2. Khandha-p	2. Metta-s	2. Suvatthi-p
3. Mora-p	3. Khandha-p	3. Mora-p
4. Dhajagga-p	4. Mora-p	4. Dhajagga-p
5. Ātānāṭiya-p	5. Dhajagga-p	5. Ātānāṭiya-p
6. Aṅgulimālā-p	6. Ātānāṭiya-p	— —
— —	7. Aṅgulimālā-p	— —

1.2.1. Sumaṅgala-vilāsini (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Sampasādaniya-s)

ChS [III] 81.10; Mm III 109.5; PTS III 897.28

1. Ātānāṭiya-p²
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p
- ādi

¹ In the table, *-s* = *-sutta*, *-p* = *-paritta*. PTS refers to the romanized editions of the Pali Text Society, London; HOS to the romanized ed. of the *Visuddhimagga* in the Harvard Oriental Series; ChS to the Burmese script Chatṭhasaṅgīti editions, Rangoon, Mm to the Thai script editions published by Mahāmakūṭa Press, Bangkok (consulted as accessible).

² ChS and PTS omit *-paritta* here only.

1.2.2. Papañcasūdani (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Bahudhātuka-s)

ChS [IV] 79.19; PTS IV 114.6	Mm III 522.11
1. Ātānāṭiya-	1. Ātānāṭiya-p
2. Mora-p	2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p	3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p	4. Ratana-p
— ādi	5. Metta-p
	— ādi

1.2.3. Manorathapūraṇi (Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā, Ekanipāta, on aṭṭhāna)³

ChS [I] 358; PTS II 9.23

1. Ātānāṭiya-p
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p
- ādi

1.2.4. Sammohavinodani (Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā)

ChS 411.27; Nalanda ed. 434.14; PTS 430.33

1. Ātānāṭiya-
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p⁴
4. Ratana-p
- ādi

³ The same list occurs at Mp IV (PTS) 114.

⁴ Nalanda and PTS omit *-paritta*.

1.3.1. Visuddhimagga

ChS II 44.15; HOS 349.21; PTS Mm II 258.20
414.24;

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Ratana-s | 1. Ratana-p |
| 2. Khandha-p | 2. Khandha-p |
| 3. Dhajagga-p | 3. Dhajagga-p |
| 4. Āṭānāṭṭiya-p | 4. Āṭānāṭṭiya-p |
| 5. Mora-p | 5. Mora-p |

1.3.2. Samantapāsādikā I, Verañjakaṇḍavaṇṇanā⁵

ChS 129.10; PTS I 159.31 Mm I 178.7

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Ratana-p | 1. Ratana-p |
| 2. Khandha-p | 2. Metta-p |
| 3. Dhajagga-p | 3. Khandha-p |
| 4. Āṭānāṭṭiya-p | 4. Dhajagga-p |
| 5. Mora-p | 5. Āṭānāṭṭiya-p |
| — — | 6. Mora-p |

1.4. Mahāniddeśa-aṭṭhakathā (Tuvāṭaka-s)

ChS 336.26; Mm II 92.6; PTS II 383.5

Manorathapūraṇī (Tikanipāta)

ChS II 210.27; PTS II 342.1

1. Āṭānāṭṭiya-p
2. Isigili-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Bojjhaṅga-p
5. Khandha-p
6. Mora-p
7. Metta-p
8. Ratana-p

⁵ The list of the Chinese version agrees with ChS, except that the *Āṭānāṭṭiya* is called *sutta* rather than *paritta* (but it would be interesting to know the Chinese term rendered here as *paritta*): P. V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa, *Shan-Chien-P'i - P'o-Sha, A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā*, Poona, 1970, p. 116. The same list occurs at Paṭis-a (PTS) 367.35.

1.5. Sumaṅgalavilāsini (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Āṭānāṭṭiya-sutta)

ChS [III] 150.23; Mm III 201.20; PTS III 969.15

1. Āṭānāṭṭiya-s
2. Metta-s
3. Dhajagga-s
4. Ratana-s

Table 2: Paritta, Sīrimaṅgalaparitta, Dvādasaparitta, and Sattaparitta

A. Paritta	B. Sīrimaṅgalaparitta	C. Dvādasaparitta	D. Sattaparitta
1. Maṅgala-sutta	1. Maṅgala-sutta	1. Maṅgala-sutta	1. Maṅgala-sutta
2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta
3. Metta-sutta	3. Metta-sutta	3. Karaṇīyametta-sutta	3. Karaṇīyametta-sutta
4. Khandha-sutta	4. Khandha-sutta	4. Khandha-paritta	4. Khandha-paritta
5. Mora-sutta	5. Mora-sutta	5. Mora-paritta	5. Mora-paritta
6. Vaṭṭa-sutta	6. Vaṭṭa-sutta	6. Vaṭṭa-paritta	—
7. Dhajagga-sutta	7. Dhajagga-sutta	7. Dhajagga-paritta	6. Dhajagga-paritta
8. Āṭānāṭīya-sutta	8. Āṭānāṭīya-sutta	8. Āṭānāṭīya-paritta	7. Āṭānāṭīya-paritta
9. Aṅgulimāla-sutta	9. Aṅgulimāla-sutta	9. Aṅgulimāla-paritta	8. Aṅgulimāla-paritta
10. Bojjhaṅga-sutta	10. Bojjhaṅga-sutta	10. Bojjhaṅga-paritta	9. Bojjhaṅga-paritta
11. Pubbaṅga-sutta*	11. Pubbaṅga-sutta*	11. Abhaya-paritta*	—
—	12. Mahāsamaya-sutta	12. Jaya-paritta	—
	13. Sammāparibbājanīya-sutta		
	14. Purābheda-sutta		
	15. Kalahavivāda-sutta		
	16. Cūḷabyūha-sutta		
	17. Mahābyūha-sutta		
	18. Tuvāṭaka-sutta		

* = same text under different titles

19. Mahā-āṭānāṭīya-sutta
20. Abhiṅha-sutta
21. Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta
22. Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta
23. Dhammapadapāḷi
24. Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta
25. Paṭṭhānapāḷi paccayuddesa
26. Paṭṭhānapāḷi paccayaniddesa
27. Brahmajāla-sutta
28. Chadisāpāla-sutta
29. Cakkaparitta-sutta
30. Parimittajāla-sutta
31. Uppātasanti

Table 3: The seven *Pañcarakṣā* in relation to other *rakṣā* and *paritta* texts

		Parallels
A.	Mahāyāna	
(1)	<i>Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī</i> = <i>Rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'brañ ba chen mo</i>	None traced
	Sanskrit: Iwamoto, Chandra	
	Tibetan: D 561, Q 179 tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.	
	Chinese: T 1154, KBC 454, tr. Ratnacinta, 693 A.C. T 1153, KBC 1349, tr. Amoghavajra, 8th cent.	
B.	Śrāvakayāna	
(2)	<i>Mahāmāyūri-vidyārājñī</i> = <i>Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo</i>	* <i>Māyūri-jātaka</i> / <i>Mora-jātaka</i> <i>Āṭānāṭika-sūtra</i> / <i>Āṭānāṭiya-sutta</i> <i>Upasena-sūtra</i> / <i>Khandha-paritta</i>
	Sanskrit: Oldenburg, Takubo, Chandra	
	Tibetan: D 559, Q 178 tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.	
	Chinese: 6 translations between 317 and 907 (see Aalto 1954 p. 7)	
(3)	<i>Mahāsāhasrapramardani-nāma-mahāyānasūtra</i> = <i>sToñ chen po rab tu 'joms pa zes bya ba'i mdo</i>	* <i>Ratna-sūtra</i> / <i>Ratana-sutta</i>
	Sanskrit: Iwamoto, Chandra	
	Tibetan: D 558, Q 177 tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. gZon nu dpal	
	Chinese: T 999, KBC 1096, tr. Dānapāla, 983 A.C.	
(4A)	<i>Mahāśītavana</i> = <i>bSil ba'i tshal chen mo</i>	Cp. <i>Āṭānāṭika-sūtra</i> / <i>Āṭānāṭiya-sutta</i>
	Sanskrit: not extant	
	Tibetan: D 562, Q 180 tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. gZon nu dpal	
	Chinese: none	
(4B)	<i>Mahāśītavati-vidyārājñī</i>	None traced
	Sanskrit: Iwamoto, Chandra	
	Tibetan: <i>Mahādaṇḍadhārāṇī</i> , <i>Be con chen po zes bya ba'i guñs</i> D 606, Q 308, tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.	
	Chinese: T 1392, KBC 1104, tr. Fa-t'ien, 984 A.C.	

- (5A) *Mahāmantrānūdharaṇī*
 = *gSañ śhags chen mo rjes su 'dzin pa 'i mdo*
 not extant
 Sanskrit: D 563, Q 181
 Tibetan: tr. Śīlendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha,
 Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.
 Chinese: none
- (5B) *Mahāmantrānusārīṇī*
sutta
 [gSañ śhags kyī rjes su 'brañ ba chen mo]¹
 Sanskrit: Chandra
 Tibetan: none
 Chinese: T 1048, KBC 1102, tr. Fa-t'ien, 984 A.C.
- Candra-sūtra / Candā-paritta*
Udānavarga, Prātimokṣa-sūtra
satyavāk, agraprajñapti
- Vaiśālipravēśa-mahāsūtra / Ratana-*

¹ Tibetan title cited in D 558, *rgyud 'bum, pha, 86a5.*

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